



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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IZVESTIYA on New 'Penetrating' Warhead
PM2109163188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Melor Sturua under the rubric "Pertinent Comments": "'Penetrating' Warhead"]

[Text] The Pentagon military procurements council adopted a recommendation 1 month ago—19 August—to embark on the development of a new warhead given the name "penetrating" or "piercing." This decision was not immediately noticed by the international public and did not generate any substantive response in the world press. But to no avail.

However, let us first explain to the reader the essence of the matter. For a number of years the U.S. Department of Energy, which is responsible for the creation of nuclear weapons, has been studying the possibilities of constructing warheads designed especially to destroy underground targets. "Penetrating" warheads tunnel into the ground in the final phase of their trajectory before exploding. For this they are fitted with a special kind of shield.

Official Pentagon spokesman Jan Bodanyi stated the other day that the council's recommendation had been approved by U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci. However, she refused to go into details. The point is that the program for creating "penetrating" or "piercing" warheads is exceptionally secret and its details are not announced to the press.

Only the following is known about the program. The creation of "penetrating" warheads was for a long time one of Strategic Air Command's [SAC] most high-priority tasks. It is SAC that controls the strategic bombers and ICBM's in the U.S. arsenal. According to certain data, the program has both accelerated and long-term variants. The time frame for the former is 1 year, and for the latter—5-10 years.

By way of a first step, the U.S. Air Force has been instructed to modernize one of the missile or bomb models currently at its disposal. George Ullrich, head of a directorate in the Defense Department's Defense Nuclear Agency, stated that a discussion is under way on "how to make best use of these weapons." Some experts

propose mounting them on high-speed land-based missiles such as the MX. Others propose using strategic bombers for this purpose. There have been reports that warheads for the Titan-2 missiles may be modernized for this purpose.

In December the Defense Nuclear Agency will carry out a test in Nevada in the course of which nuclear munitions will be placed underground in order to simulate the explosion of a "penetrating" warhead. Such significance is attached to this program that the Pentagon has decided to allocate the requisite funds for it next year at the expense of other programs. The Air Force is to report to Carlucci in the first quarter of fiscal 1989, which begins 1 October this year, with information on how the missiles and warheads are to be composed and the cost of the new weapons system. Preparations are under way to place the appropriate contracts.

Thus, the "penetrating" or "piercing" warhead... THE WASHINGTON POST writes that "this type of weapon is designed to destroy a large number of underground command posts and bomb shelters in the Soviet Union." The newspaper reports this with reference to U.S. "Defense Department staffers." We are thus talking about a new and extremely dangerous spiral in the nuclear arms race. The penetration of space using "Star Wars" weapons is supplemented by penetration of the depths of the earth—also, of course, not for peace but for war.

The decision to create a "penetrating" warhead is an integral part of the so-called "modernization" policy being conducted by Washington. This is an extremely dangerous policy because it brings the arms race back into international life by the back door, so to speak. You cannot curb the arms race by taking one step forward and then two steps backward through disarmament. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, a considerable reduction in arms and armed forces in Europe on the basis of the mandate being drafted in Vienna, and other military-political initiatives—these must not be buried in the earth, and they certainly should not be exploded.

Another fact. "Hiding" from the public the aggressive nature of the "Star Wars" program, Washington labeled it defensive. I am curious to find out whether it will dare to pin an analogous label on the "penetrating" warhead.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 22 Sep

Nagorno-Karabakh Situation

LD2209233588 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Excerpts] A briefing has been held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Center to answer questions from newsmen about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. It was conducted by Vadim Perfilyev:

[Begin Perfilyev recording in Russian fading into English translation] First of all I would like everyone to realize that there were no weighty reasons behind the recent escalation of tensions in the region. On the contrary, the authorities have been meeting the requests voiced earlier by the residents. That, however, had been irritating certain groups of people. On Sunday a group of irresponsible people incited part of the residents of the region's capital, Stepanakert, to start for the nearby village of (Hadjalay). They claimed the villagers must be punished for breaking some cars. In the clash that ensued firearms were used. The violence then spread to Stepanakert, (Sufa), and other localities. [passage omitted]

The government could not remain on the sidelines when blood was being shed. It has imposed a temporary state of emergency [as heard] and a night curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh and the neighboring Agdam region of Azerbaijan. That was a hard decision to take, but there was no alternative to it. Nagorno-Karabakh has been put under the rule of a military commandant who has outlawed demonstrations, rallies, and strikes, especially in the areas crucial for normal life of the population. No movement of people or vehicles without special passes is allowed in the streets from 9 at night till 6 in the morning. [end recording]

That, the spokesman concluded, was vital for improving the living standards and further development of Nagorno-Karabakh.

'Leaders' Urge Uprisings

LD2209162388 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Forty-nine people, including thirty-three Armenians and 16 Azerbaijanians, have been injured and 17 of them hospitalized, with one dying from the wounds, as a result of disorders in Stepanakert and Shusha in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing today.

Answering a question from reporters about the situation in the region, he said that the provoked disorders were accompanied by incidents of arson, pogroms, beatings and marauding and that more than 30 structures were set alight.

In a situation where there has arisen a threat to the security, health, dignity and property of people in Nagorno-Karabakh, law-enforcement personnel are taking measures to stop the criminal offenses.

The national prosecutor's office has launched a criminal case regarding the mass disorders and is investigating them, the spokesman said.

But despite the measures taken by local authorities and law-enforcement personnel and despite appeals for restraint and reason, the situation is not improving.

Instead of concentrating on restoring order and ensuring conditions for a normal life, self-styled "leaders" are urging people to stage illegal mass marches and rallies contributing to interethnic strife and hostility. Attempts to involve under-age children in the illegitimate activities is especially outrageous, Perfilyev said.

He added that the events in Nagorno-Karabakh "have effectively assumed the nature of a confrontation with the law and with the organs of power. This benefits those sowing the seeds of discord and hatred, afraid of life in Nagorno-Karabakh returning to normal and involved in corruption, theft and bribe-taking."

"We cannot allow anarchy, lawlessness and infringements on the guaranteed constitutional rights and rightful interests of citizens of any nationality, we cannot allow any fanning of enmity among ethnic groups, which is prohibited by all our laws," the spokesman said.

"In these conditions the only remaining option is that of decisively countering the provocateurs inciting people to break law and order," he added.

Military Commander Appointed

LD2209194788 Hamburg DPA in German 1603 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Moscow has, following the resurgence of unrest between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, appointed a military commander in Nagorno-Karabakh and Agdam in Azerbaijan, whose orders must be obeyed by local authorities. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, confirmed to the press in Moscow Thursday that 1 Armenian was killed and 49 injured in the bloody clashes between the two nationalities since Sunday. [passage omitted]

Munich Pact Anniversary

LD2209160988 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—"The Munich Pact, the 50th anniversary falls due on September 29-30, led to the elimination of the state independence of Czechoslovakia, became the culmination point in the policy of 'placating' the fascist aggressors, and brought

the world closely to the start of the Second World War," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today.

As the anniversary date draws nearer, bourgeois mass media intensify their attempts to justify the Munich deal and to present its participants as "peace-makers". Clearly seen at the same time is a desire to cast aspersions on Soviet foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War and to falsify it as regards some points.

"Now that we have available many archival documents," Vadim Perfilyev said, "one can maintain with full confidence that the Munich deal of Britain and France with Nazi Germany and Italy on partitioning Czechoslovakia pursued the aim of isolating the Soviet Union politically and diplomatically and confronting it one on one with Nazi Germany."

The betrayal of the interests of sovereign Czechoslovakia by the governments of France and Britain destroyed the already unstable treaty system which was ensuring collective security of a number of European states, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry pointed out.

The Soviet Union was the only state resolutely to come out in defence of the Czechoslovak people, and it was not the fault of the Soviet Union that the system of the above-mentioned treaties was not used.

The main lesson of the events on the eve of the Second World War is the need to unite all forces of reason and realism, and energetic actions to stop aggression.

"In present-day European conditions, this, in our view, signifies all-round development of cooperation, the building of a 'common home', strict observance of the principle of the inviolability of borders, respect for the established territorial and political realities, and the prevention of revanchism in any form," Vadim Perfilyev emphasized.

Afghan Accord Observance

*LD2209131288 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT
22 Sep 88*

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Pakistan's disregard for the Geneva agreements cannot go on for ever and so the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take concerted measures that will be dictated by the situation as it shapes, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was briefing correspondents on the results of a visit to this country by Prime Minister Mohamad Hasan Sharq of Afghanistan.

He said it has been stressed in the course of the talks that the USSR and Afghanistan have been honoring their commitments under the Geneva agreements precisely, unflinchingly and in good faith and that they proceed from the need for these agreements to be strictly observed by all the signatories.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan, the spokesman continued, take the view that Pakistan's obstructionist line is jeopardizing the realization of the compromise decisions reached in Geneva for the sake of a peaceful resolution of the external aspects of the Afghanistan problem.

Hope has been expressed in the course of the talks that not every possibility has yet been tapped for influencing Pakistan so that its new leadership will realize all the responsibility it bears and make relevant practical conclusions.

The sides expect appropriate efforts to be taken by also the United States as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements and by all the nations and public forces interested in peace on Afghan soil.

The USSR and Afghanistan are convinced, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said, that national reconciliation based on broad-based intra-Afghan dialogue is the only way to putting an end to bloodletting in Afghanistan and that there is no other alternative.

'Measures' Against Pakistan Possible

*LD2209202488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held in Moscow today at the Foreign Ministry Press Center. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, conducted the briefing and much attention was given to the Afghan problem. Here is what Comrade Perfilyev said in this connection:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The official friendly visit of Afghan Prime Minister Sharq to the USSR has ended. The Soviet side affirmed the unequivocal support of our country for the course taken by the Afghan leadership to solve peacefully the internal problems of Afghanistan by means of achieving national agreement. It also affirmed its determination to give effective help and assistance to Afghanistan with the aim of preserving and confirming the Republic of Afghanistan as a territorially integral, independent, sovereign, nonaligned, and neutral state.

It was particularly stressed that Pakistan's disregard of the Geneva agreements cannot continue indefinitely, and if that is the case, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take coordinated measures which will be dictated by the situation as it takes shape. Unfortunately, I am forced to present some information about

the activities of the armed opposition. The most reactionary forces of this opposition are not ceasing their policy of genocide against their own people. As a result of the 20 September bombardment of Kabul, carried out during the rush hour at 1720, rocket missiles hit a girl's school and the (Parsa) school. Six children and two women were killed, and nine [as heard] injured. Insurgents in the provinces of Kabul, Samangan, Badakhshan, Baghlan, Parvan, Nimruz, and Herat, are continuing preparations to carry out armed actions against state authorities following the arrival of new armed groups and additional batches of weaponry and ammunition from Pakistan. Mujahadin formations are being strengthened in the provinces of Kabul, Parvan, Vardak, and Laghman. The Afghan Armed Forces have performed successful operations in a series of provinces, in the course of which armed opposition groups were eliminated and a large quantity of weapons seized.

Radio Beijing, with reference to a Pakistani agency, reported that in the words of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar [leader of Islamic Party of Afghanistan] the so-called mujahadin have liberated 80 percent of all Afghan towns. This report can immediately be taken as in no way corresponding to reality; but let us see how such reports come about. Indeed, in many Afghan towns there are no government troops, since a coalition authority functions there, and there is an agreement that the local tribal regiments are themselves maintaining order in their own provinces and districts. They are far from waiting for the arrival of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's people, and are ready to repulse them.

The BBC and Voice of America radio stations made a big fuss about the Extraordinary Commission on National Reconciliation having been dismissed in Afghanistan. It is simply a matter of changing the structure of the Commission on National Reconciliation; its Presidium is being abolished, but the commission itself is continuing to function—the executive committee and all the other organs from the top down to the bottom. Of course, those who wish to destroy the Geneva agreements need this kind of disinformation with regard to the actions of the Afghan Government, but nevertheless, the aim of journalism is, after all, to give an objective, unbiased analysis of what is taking place there. [end recording]

Information Exchanges With U.S.

LD2209165088 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT
20 Sep 88

["Development of Soviet-American Information Exchanges"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—On September 26-28 talks will be held in Moscow between Soviet and U.S. delegations on the development of cooperation in the sphere of radio, television, the press, culture, arts, book-publishing and cinema, said today at a briefing Vadim Perfil'yev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The Soviet delegation will be led by Valentin Falin, board chairman of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN), and the American side—by Charles Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Each delegation consists of some 70 members.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman also said that on September 27 a U.S. book exhibition opens at the Kniga Exhibition Centre in Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya District.

IAEA Official To Visit Plant

LD2209162288 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Considering heightened attention shown by the Soviet and international public to the issue of safety at the Ignalina nuclear power station in Lithuania, the Soviet delegation to the current 32nd session of the general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has invited IAEA official Morris Rosen to visit the facility, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfil'yev said Rosen, director of the IAEA Nuclear Safety Department, expressed readiness to come to the USSR in mid-October and is expected to give a news conference after visiting the nuclear power station.

In the beginning of September IAEA Director Hans Blix received a cable from the action committee of the Lithuanian Movement in Support of Perestroika, as the current reform drive in the USSR is known. After reading the cable, which expressed concern about the safety of the Ignalina station, Blix sent a reply a few days ago, which will in the near future be handed to representatives of the Lithuanian organization.

Yazov's Upcoming India Visit

LD2209131588 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Dmitriy Yazov, defence minister of the USSR, will pay an official visit to India late in September. He will set off to India in return to the visit of Krishna Chandra Pant, defence minister of India, to the Soviet Union last February, Vadim Perfil'yev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told journalists today.

"The visit of the Soviet defence minister reflects the high level of the successfully developing relations between our countries in a variety of areas, including in the field of defence. We expect this visit to contribute toward further cementing the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India to the benefit of the peoples of our two countries, in the interests of global peace and security", Perfil'yev said.

'Wrap-Up' of Briefing

LD2209164288 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT
22 Sep 88

[“Briefing at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Centre Wrapup”—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—“We hold that the talks held in Denmark by Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, will [word indistinct] a new impulse to the Murmansk programme, which was put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in October last year, for strengthening international security and cooperation in Europe's north,” Vadim Perfiliev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today when speaking about the recently concluded visit of Eduard Shevardnadze to Copenhagen.

The Embassy of the USSR in the Republic of the Philippines has firmly denied local press conjectures, which are obviously inspired from the outside, about Soviet submarines which were ostensibly seen near Philippine shores and which “supply arms to communist rebels”, the spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs said.

“In this connection we would like to state once again that such rumours are absolutely groundless, which was incidentally repeatedly recognized by Philippine officials themselves,” Vadim Perfiliev emphasized.

He gave a high appraisal of the meeting which began in Guatemala City between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and contra leaders. “The meetings inspire hope,” Vadim Perfiliev pointed out, “that the process of peaceful dialogue in Nicaragua will finally get out of impasse”.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry refuted the assertions of the Nigerian press about alleged dumping of radioactive waste (?in) the construction site of the plant in Ajaokuta by the Soviet Union.

Radio Beijing with reference to a Pakistani news agency asserted that according to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the opposition forces had ostensibly freed 80 percent of Afghan cities. “Such ‘canards’ are intended for uninformed and credulous people”, Vladimir Perfiliev said in this connection. He said that, really, there are no government troops in many cities in Afghanistan because coalition authorities operate there, or there is simply agreement that local tribal formations themselves maintain order on the territory of a number of regions and districts.

The USSR Foreign Ministry's spokesman emphasized that the transportation of national economic cargoes to and from Kabul continues uninterrupted. Vadim Perfiliev refuted BBC and Voice of America reports that the

National Reconciliation Commission had been dissolved in Afghanistan. “The commission's Presidium was abolished within the framework of reorganization of the body,” he said. “But the commission itself continues its work”.

RSFSR's Vinogradov on Krasnoyarsk Proposals

LD2209132688 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—“Soviet peace initiatives advanced in Krasnoyarsk have a most direct bearing on the vital interests of the Russian Federation, its far Eastern regions and territories,” Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, said today.

“The Russian Republic borders on many foreign countries with which it maintains long-standing ties,” Vinogradov told a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

“Russian diplomats can feel the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations and see the growth of mutual attraction between the two countries. The Maritime and Khabarovsk Territories and the Amur and Chita Regions have started intensive trade with bordering Chinese provinces. Border tourist exchanges have started to develop too.”

“Residents of the Russian Republic want to know better the life of the Chinese people,” Vinogradov said. They maintain broad contacts with China, especially with the Chinese Province of Liaoning.

Vinogradov said that the Russian Federation was having active border trade with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Several thousand Korean workers are lumbering wood in the Khabarovsk Region for deliveries to the DPRK.

“Although Soviet-Japanese relations have been marked by recession in recent years, there is still a good basis for stepping up the relations between our countries taking account of bilateral and regional interests,” Vinogradov went on to say.

“The recent 10th meeting of the governors of Japanese prefectures and chairman of the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies of territories and regions of the Soviet Far East, held in Moscow, made it possible to do some work towards establishing good-neighbourly relations. The meeting gave birth to a curious aphorism turn to the local authorities and they will help to remove difficulties in relations between governments.”

A group of Americans headed by the Alaska governor has recently arrived in Provident Bay. The American guests and their Soviet hosts are having interesting ideas concerning joint ventures and tourist exchanges.

"I hope that the heat [as received] of American Jean Cox in the Bering Sea marked the beginning of a radical improvement in Soviet-American relations in the Far East," Vinogradov said in conclusion.

Shevardnadze Urges West To Revise Export Control
PM2209104988 London DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 22 Sep 88 p 1

[Julian Isherwood dispatch: "Tell Us Your Secrets, Says Russia"]

[Text] Copenhagen—The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, made an appeal yesterday for Western countries to revise the COCOM list which prevents technology transfer to the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a lecture at the Copenhagen Stock Exchange during a one-day visit to Denmark, Mr Shevardnadze said the list was a hindrance and millstone to East-West trade.

"What stands in the way between co-operation and development in the Soviet Union is the COCOM list," he said. "Maybe we cannot get rid of it completely today, but conditions may emerge to shorten the list."

The rules of the Co-ordinating Committee for Export Control prohibit the sale of a great deal of technology to the Eastern bloc.

Mr Shevardnadze said that he would be raising the issue with Mr George Shultz, the American secretary of state, at their meeting in New York today.

"Real secrets are now becoming extremely rare," he said. "What we previously saw as sacred secrets in the Soviet Union are now subject to a long list of verification measures."

TASS Interviews UN Secretary General
LD2209103888 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 22 TASS—"Disarmament has always been one of the most important goals of the United Nations. The organisation provides a unique forum in which world leaders can express the common concerns of their peoples to slow down the arms race", U.S. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in an interview with TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov and Vladimir Matyash.

"The signing of the historic INF Treaty by the United States and the Soviet Union was a major breakthrough which has energised all arms control talks. I hope that it will also create a favourable atmosphere for the success of negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons".

"Recent events have also underlined the urgency of completing a convention on chemical weapons as soon as possible, and the need to reduce conventional weapons."

"The United Nations has been working hard to promote solutions to long-standing regional conflicts. I hope that our recent success in promoting a settlement in Afghanistan and in bringing about a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war which has led to a reduction of tensions in those areas, can in turn promote disarmament and arms reductions".

"One of the positive developments of this year has been the improvement in the international political climate and the easing of tensions after the meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev."

"The United Nations is working to solve the disputes in Western Sahara and in Cyprus. The prospects for the independence of Namibia appear to be promising, and we in the secretariat are ready to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia".

"The Soviet Union is the largest and one of the most important nations in the world today. I have followed with keen interest the new political thinking of General Secretary Gorbachev and the economic reforms that he is trying to introduce into Soviet society. I wish him success in his endeavours."

"The principles of glasnost and perestroika that he is introducing to the Soviet Union have captured the imagination of the international community. Their extension to international relations can help to bring more openness in international negotiations and a fresh perspective in world affairs."

"I am convinced that the United Nations can play a central role in the maintenance of international peace and security, and it is very heartening that General Secretary Gorbachev has reaffirmed his country's commitment to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations", Perez de Cuellar stressed.

U.S. Resists Indian Ocean Peace Zone Proposal
LD2109092488 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT
21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Tass political news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The proposal for convening not later than 1990 an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, which was aired by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk, draws a wide positive response from the peoples of the Indian Ocean countries.

The states of this vast region with a population of 1.3 billion have a stake in solving this issue. Work to create a zone of peace and tranquility in the Indian Ocean has

been going on for tens of years now. Back in 1971 the U.N. General Assembly adopted the declaration on proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

But alas, all efforts by the countries in the region to get this declaration translated into life collapse on stiff resistance of the United States and its closest allies: they do not wish to "tie their hands", and oppose any initiatives for setting up nuclear-free zones be it in the north of Europe, the Pacific, Atlantic or Indian Oceans.

Why? Just because Washington arrogated for itself the "right" to divide the world into "spheres of vital interests" supposedly belonging to it, and claims "full freedom of action in all regions" proceeding from this "right", Washington, pursuing the policy of new-globalism, tries to keep under its control the enormous material resources of this part of the world. The matter is that over 30 per cent of world oil reserves, 81 per cent of gold production, 90 per cent of rubber, and 57 per cent of tin are concentrated there.

It is exactly to protect these "vital interests" that the Pentagon boosts military presence in that region. Over

30 American military bases and strong points have been built in the ocean waters from the shores of Australia to the eastern coast of Africa. Their number far from dwindles.

A powerful naval group comprising hundreds of combatant ships, among them aircraft carriers, guided missile cruisers, and nuclear-armed submarines, is deployed there. Strategic bombers constantly patrol the region's air space. The political and economic pressure is thus supplemented with military pressure on those countries which, in the opinion of Washington, intend to pursue their own path.

And still, under these circumstances when the new political thinking, new approaches to international problems gain new and new momentum, the need clearly ripens to move off dead center at long last this important problem - the problem of a nuclear-free Indian Ocean. The whole package of specific Soviet proposals launched in Krasnoyarsk and widely discussed these days are a sturdy foundation for this. This is why, judging by positive responses, the Krasnoyarsk initiatives enjoy support in the countries of that region.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Shultz Open Talks in U.S.

LD2209163788 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 22 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz opened talks at the State Department today.

After discussing issues of organization in the secretary of state's office, they both attended the first plenary meeting involving the key members of their delegations.

Expert groups on specific issues began their work at the same time.

Replying to questions from newsmen before going into the talks, Shevardnadze said: "There are chances" for progress on problems connected with an agreement in the works on a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear armories.

Discuss Ties, Arms Issues

LD2209215188 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 23 TASS—Talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz began here on Thursday.

During the talks the sides compared their evaluations of the current stage of Soviet-U.S. relations. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2043 GMT on 22 September carries this same report, but renders the preceding sentence as follows: "During their talks, the ministers compared their appraisals of the current stage of Soviet-U.S. relations, which are proceeding under the sign of the implementation of the fundamental accords and concrete directives agreed upon by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan at their landmark meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow."] The importance of maintaining the steady momentum of headway on a broad range of relations between the two countries was pointed out.

The attention of the sides was focussed on matters connected with the task of reducing nuclear and conventional arms, limiting nuclear tests and banning chemical weapons as well as on some other problems pertaining to the sphere of security.

During a thorough discussion which was held in a businesslike spirit, the sides summed up the work done by now at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms and first of all the work to prepare a treaty on a 50 per

cent cut in the strategic offensive arms under the conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty. A certain progress achieved in individual directions such as, in particular, a limitation on heavy bombers and their armaments, mobile ICBMs, sublevels on warheads as well as on verification problems was stated in this connection.

At the same time the Soviet side drew the attention of the U.S. secretary of state to the lack of headway in a number of major fields, specifically, those connected with limitation on sea-launched cruise missiles. The sides agreed to continue efforts with a view to coordinating the still unresolved questions in the interests of elaborating a treaty on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz discussed in detail the problems connected with the preparation of a separate agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it within an agreed period in strict accordance with the wording of the joint Soviet-American statements of December 10, 1987, and June 2, 1988. The Soviet side also pointed out the organic interrelationship between cuts in strategic offensive arms and the achievement of a mutually-acceptable agreement on ABM which would rule out the possibility of circumventing or withdrawing from the ABM Treaty ahead of time. The need for a constructive approach, oriented towards a search for mutually acceptable accords during the consideration of the sides' anxieties, and which would be based on mutual adherence to the principle of parity and equal security, was emphasized.

During the talks the two sides considered some other problems of security and disarmament, specifically a ban on nuclear tests, on chemical weapons, and reductions in conventional arms. Having stated a substantial headway in these fields in the recent period, the sides devoted attention to the main unresolved matters with a view to attaining the agreed goals in each of the directions as soon as possible. It was agreed to intensify this work. The respective delegations at the talks will receive the necessary instructions on that score.

There was a frank and constructive exchange of views on matters of cooperation in the humanitarian field and human rights.

The talks are being held predominantly in a narrow format, with the participation of A. Bessmertnykh, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Yu. Dubinin, the ambassador of the USSR to the USA, V. Karpov and S. Tarasenko, members of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the Soviet side, and Colin Powell, assistant to the President for national security affairs, Rozanne Ridgway, U.S. assistant secretary of state, and Jack Matlock, the ambassador of the USA to the USSR, on the American side.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz gave instructions to expert groups on additional examination of the military and political, regional, bilateral and humanitarian aspects of Soviet-American relations within the framework of the started talks.

Kozyakov Views Talks

*LD2209205688 Moscow World Service in English
1710 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Talks have started between the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, and the state secretary, George Shultz. During his stay in Washington, Eduard Shevardnadze is to meet President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush. More in a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

The Soviet-American dialogue has been increasingly fruitful during the past 3 years. One would very much like to continue the same pace. Pauses in such essential areas as arms cuts and confidence-building can be really hazardous. This is a point Soviet policymaking proceeds from.

The U.S. Administration has been receiving new ideas from the Soviet Union. A fresh example are Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals advanced in Krasnoyarsk. They remove from the agenda the issue of the Krasnoyarsk radar station that Washington has been viewing as a violation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty and the nearly largest barrier to an agreement on cuts in strategic arsenals. This country suggested that the station be used as a basis for setting up a center of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space. Apart from Soviet specialists, this center could employ scientists from the United States and other countries. In his Krasnoyarsk speech, Mikhail Gorbachev also suggested a number of specific steps toward lesser military confrontation in Asia and the Pacific and Indian oceans. And Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in Denmark, a country the foreign minister had visited before arriving in the United States, called on the NATO nations again to pay attention to the Soviet proposals on confidence-building measures and ways to strengthen security by nonmilitary means.

Meanwhile, the Soviet-American dialogue is no one-way street. The question arises as to whether the United States is prepared to go its half of the way. It equally concerns people both in this country and in America. The mass media in the United States have been carrying many opinions boiling down to the idea that the next 4 months before the presidential shift are unlikely to see any decisive steps by the current administration toward progress in the talks on strategic offensive weapons. Moreover, mention has been made of the possibility that national strategic planning in that country may have come to something of a dead end in connection with these talks. The Pentagon still seems to be of a hundred

minds which types of missiles to choose for scrapping. And the mutual verification measures and inspection of (?warships) proposed by the Soviet Union have been (?imprecated). The U.S. assistant secretary of defense, R. Lehman, in dwelling last week on the issue of sea-based missile limitation, said we've not seen any way to verify such limits without in effect giving up our Navy to Soviet inspection and control. Naturally, Mr Lehman shouldn't forget there would be American inspection and control of Soviet naval ships, too. The current Soviet-American talks and meetings in Washington seem to be of special importance.

The kind of legacy President Reagan is going to leave to his successor depends on the kind of progress the negotiating parties will manage to make now. One could say our future is being wrought today.

Commentary Decries U.S. Reaction on Krasnoyarsk

*LD2209224388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1830 GMT 22 Sep 88*

[Text] The important foreign policy initiatives put forward a few days ago by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk have elicited an extensive international response, especially in the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin, which are directly affected by them. Comments about the package of proposals made by the Soviet leader, which have arrived from this region, are generally positive. The new Soviet initiatives have been positively received not only in public circles of the states of the Asia-Pacific region but also by official representatives of the governments of a variety of countries. However, Washington's first reaction to them has been negative. Here is Igor Surguchev with our commentary:

[Surguchev] As before, we must study the text very carefully in order to possibly find some signs of a genuine desire to deal with certain problems in the Asia-Pacific region. This, verbatim, is how Rozanne Ridgway, assistant to the U.S. secretary of state, reacted to the Krasnoyarsk package of initiatives contained in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It is clear that the eyesight of State Department employees is quite poor, if they still have not discerned in the Soviet leader's speech the clearly expressed desire to lessen tension in Asia and in the Pacific basin and to improve the situation there through specific, practical measures. It seems to me, however, that those across the ocean are not suffering from weak eyesight, but from a shortage of the new political thinking. A further basis for such a conclusion is the statement by the aforementioned Ms Ridgway about the Soviet proposal to give up the USSR Navy's equipment and technical service point in the Vietnamese Cam Ranh Bay if the United States liquidates its military bases in the Philippines. I do not know what our final answer will be, she announced, but our initial reaction is that it simply is not in the interest of the United States. Why does the reduction of the military presence of the

two great powers in the region on a bilateral basis not correspond to Washington's interests? No clear answer to this reasonable question is given.

However, the answer, I believe, is clear. Thinking in terms of the old categories of strength and military confrontation, those across the ocean simply do not wish to curtail their militaristic activity in the Asia-Pacific region. In this regard, the fact that the peoples of the region are vitally interested in reducing the level of foreign military presence and, in principle, the total withdrawal of this presence, in no way troubles U.S. politicians and strategists. In Washington they are not used to taking the aspirations of other peoples into consideration. There, their own mercenary interests are placed above everything else. Someone in the United States has pointed to the unprofitability of Gorbachev's proposals with regard to the bases, since the Americans have to give up two major and four minor military support points in the Asia-Pacific region, and the Russians only one. When they say this, they forget that the Soviet Union has nothing else similar to a military base outside its own territory in this part of the world.

Is it appropriate, when solving such important questions, to adopt a purely numerical approach? Our country has shown that it is not appropriate. It set a good example for the United States when it agreed, in accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, to destroy considerably more of them than the Americans. Unfortunately, taking everything into account, the United States is not yet inclined to follow the good example, to be governed by the new political thinking. This means that the urgent problem of achieving military and political detente in the Asia-Pacific region may turn out to be frozen because of the position taken by Washington. After all, as they say in the United States, it takes two to tango.

Kornilov Criticizes Byrd on Krasnoyarsk Proposal
LD2209133788 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The American Senator Robert Byrd, and not only he, alleges that the Soviet radar station built in Siberia, not far from Krasnoyarsk, is a violation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems (ABM).

Our country is known to have come up with a proposal recently to create on the basis of this radar station a center of international cooperation for the use of space for peaceful purposes and thus put an end to all apprehensions and doubts about which they in Washington discourse. It would seem that the senator should hail this proposal but it turns out that he is unwilling to hear

about it. For what reasons? Speaking in the U.S. Senate Byrd stated that there could be found several places more convenient for Western powers than Siberia to set up such a center.

There is no denying it that the argument is strange, for at point is the fate of the specific radar station rather than the quest for a place to build a certain new international scientific facility. But the senator, posing as if he did not notice this clear discrepancy, meticulously studies the geographical map: Is it not more suitable for the West to form a new international center, say, in New York? There are no Siberian frosts there and it is not a long way from Washington where Byrd himself sits in congressional sessions....

Certainly, all this does not make the arguments of the respected senator more plausible. But let us all the same accept his point of view, take his words at their true value. Soviet Siberia, in the opinion of Byrd, is not suitable for building an international center. But nobody contends that this is the only centre needed and it is the only place to erect it. It is common knowledge, for instance, what serious concern is shown by both the Soviet and international public over the construction of a U.S. radar station in Britain. It is likewise common knowledge that many specialists are convinced that the latter is a direct violation of the ABM Treaty. So, the idea emerges for Mr Senator: Why not come out for the American radar station also to be converted into another international center for the peaceful exploration of space, if he really stands guard over the treaty? Let scientists of various countries choose themselves where to conduct research: Some, I presume, would go to this end to Siberia, and others—to Britain...

I doubt, however, that this idea will draw a response in Washington. For it seems that those who reject the Soviet proposal show concern not about the conveniences for the staffers of the future international center and the more so about strict compliance by both parties with the ABM Treaty, but are guided by totally different motives....

Zorin Laments 'Position of Strength' Policy
LD2109213588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Valentin Zorin commentary]

[Text] Here is a commentary by Soviet television's political observer Valentin Zorin on a change in propaganda direction by leading Washington politicians. This has come as a surprise to many.

[Zorin] Hello there, comrades. First of all, this switch in direction: After a period in which Washington's statements on foreign policy were generally constructive—at any rate, as far as public utterances were concerned—we are again hearing the bass notes that are familiar to us from worse times.

During the election campaign, which has now entered its most active phase, first the Republican candidate Bush, and then the Democratic candidate Dukakis, started making the sort of speeches that everyone has long been sick and tired of: the importance of relying on strength as the main element of U.S. policy, the necessity of putting strong-arm pressure on the USSR, and, as a consequence, the inevitability of building up U.S. military muscle.

George Bush, for instance, picked as his audience recently the annual meeting of the American Legion, one of the country's most reactionary organizations. Pulling out of his junk box the slogan, "Peace from a position of strength," he set about convincing his listeners that U.S. strength alone, as he put it, brought the USSR to the negotiating table.

It is hard to believe that an experienced politician like the present U.S. vice president believes his own words. Nevertheless, this has been said and repeated over the last few days on numerous occasions. Certain observers attempt to put what is happening down to the habitual demagoguery of U.S. election campaigns. They say that the attempt to play on jingoistic and chauvinistic sentiments is traditional in the battle for the White House. Even if this explanation is accepted, the fact that U.S. society is committed to the old thinking and the fact that contenders in the election race are now appealing to this part of the electorate, must be a cause for concern. But it is evidently not merely a question of the commonplace stereotypes of election campaigns.

It would be naive to suppose that the powerful corporations that have already entered in their ledgers the profits from military supplies for several years in advance, will easily give up those longed-for thousands of millions of dollars. It must be noted with regret that their self-seeking interests can currently be perceived in the positions of the contenders for the supreme post in the U.S. state considerably more clearly than can the realities of the present world.

Are people in Washington today wondering what the USSR should do in these circumstances? Does Washington really want the Soviet leadership to adopt the same tone? This happened once before, and it led to an impasse which everyone is having great difficulty in extricating himself from now. One should not, of course, overestimate U.S. election rhetoric, but one should also not underestimate it, since it does not come from thin air. The world cannot—nor does it have the right—to

lose the opportunities opened up by the new thinking that has been painfully achieved. One would not like the election tussle to hide this truth from U.S. political leaders.

Dukakis Stance on Arms Issues Still Evolving
PM2109082188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated New York dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Dukakis Sets Out Position"]

[Text] New York—Michael Dukakis, Democratic Party presidential candidate, has made a series of statements in which, perhaps for the first time, he sets out in detail his position on questions of the arms buildup and arms control.

These statements are Dukakis' answer, first, to fierce criticism by Republican candidate George Bush, who has doubted the Democrats' ability to ensure and protect U.S. national interests. Second, they are his answer to the results of recent public opinion polls (we reported this yesterday) showing that most Americans are convinced that if the Democrat becomes president, the country's defense potential will weaken.

Dukakis' advisers considered Bush's attacks, but mainly the poll results, as so serious that they should be ignored and no attempt should be made to directly deny or change them.

It follows from the statements that the Democratic candidate supports a number of the present Republican administration's key military projects such as the construction of "invisible" bombers, Trident-2 missile-carrying submarines armed with R-5 [as published] missiles, and improved cruise missiles.

Clearly changing his previous position, Dukakis made it understood that he regards the strategic concept of creating Midgetman ballistic missiles as "sound." Previously the Democratic candidate was categorically against this project. This time, it is true, he also expressed certain doubts as to the expediency of creating these missiles, but he added: "We will work with the Congress to find a reasonable and simple means of maintaining the efficiency of our ground-based missile potential."

On the other hand, the presidential candidate confirmed his categorical disagreement with the program to construct and deploy intercontinental missiles. Referring to "SDI," M. Dukakis said that he would ask Congress for the means to continue research in the sphere of protection from ballistic missiles. But it is clear from the statements that the program would be limited in a Democratic administration. As THE NEW YORK TIMES noted, under Dukakis funds would be reduced "to only \$1 billion per year, that is, four times less what the more conservative-minded Democrats are insisting on."

In the conventional arms sphere, Dukakis advocated developing qualitatively new tactical fighters, creating submarines equipped with 50 torpedoes each, and producing more tanks that are also more modern than the present ones. It is notable that the candidate avoided confirming his previously expressed disagreement with programs to create two more carrier groups, but stressed that the Navy needs more carrier-based aircraft.

M. Dukakis' references to the importance of continuing the arms control process were something of a counterbalance to his statements in support of major military programs. "The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles," the candidate stressed, "was a good beginning. But this was only the beginning. It is in our interests to achieve an agreement—balanced and verifiable—that will ensure deep cuts in Soviet strategic arsenals."

Assessing Dukakis' statements, THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper noted that he has "now moved closer to the positions of President Reagan and former President Jimmy Carter."

I think that in its present form, the Democratic candidate's military platform is still quite far from being the final one. It will change—both in nuance and in essence—during the election campaign. Depending on how this campaign will develop.

Solovyev Comments on Dukakis Chicago Speech
OW2109165588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2100 GMT 14 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Vsevolod Solovyev commentary]

[Text] Massachusetts Governor and U.S. presidential candidate Michael Dukakis made a scheduled election speech in Chicago. Our commentary:

[Solovyev] Hello, comrades. The democratic presidential candidate, speaking before voters in Chicago, decided to devote the whole speech to Soviet-U.S. relations. Why? As Michael Dukakis said in his speech in Chicago, the future of our planet and whether it will survive or not depends on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. It should be said that recently, the majority of Americans have come to share this viewpoint in assessing the significance of the two largest world powers.

Michael Dukakis spoke out in favor of the further development of relations between the two countries. He welcomed the progress achieved by the Soviet Union and the United States in checking the arms race. The Democratic candidate paid due respect to the Reagan administration for its contribution to the disarmament process. However, at the same time he emphasized that the initiatives in the area of arms reduction were made not by the United States but by the Soviet Union.

Viewing his Chicago speech as part of his platform, Dukakis formulated in it his approach to relations with our country. In the opinion of Dukakis, the U.S. policies relating to the Soviet Union must be waged from the position of strength. Progress in relations between the two countries depends on concessions made by the Soviet Union in such spheres as arms verification, normalization of regional conflicts, and solutions to humanitarian problems. Dukakis intends to win these concessions from the Soviet Union by means of economic pressure. This is not going to be the only type of pressure applied. He stated: We have to preserve our military strength, increase our economic might, and affirm our readiness to use it in the defense of our vital interests all over the world.

Dukakis' approach to Soviet-U.S. relations is basically no different from that of the present U.S. Administration or the other presidential candidate, the Republican Bush.

In accordance with tradition, not a single speech made by the candidates is devoid of mutual attacks. Dukakis did not fail to note that it was unlikely that George Bush, should he be elected president, could hold his own in a dialogue with our side. In Dukakis' opinion, Bush is not always sufficiently resolute and consistent in international matters.

Dukakis' speech in Chicago was aimed at winning votes, in my opinion, and reflects the following fact, unfortunately: The belief that relations with our side can only be built from a position of strength still prevails in the United States. The new thinking, which gives priority to the solution of universal problems and which demands equality and respect for the partner in the dialogue, is treading a difficult path in the United States.

Debates Continue at Tbilisi Conference
PM2109142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Smashing Stereotypes. At the Fourth Conference of the USSR and U.S. Public"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 20 Sep—Public opinion polls conducted in the United States in the fall of 1986 showed that only one-third of Americans then believed in the possibility of stabilizing and improving Soviet-U.S. relations. The figure is now 94 percent. In 1986, 51 percent of Americans had a well-disposed opinion of Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev. Today the figure is 83 percent.

These figures were cited at the fourth conference of the Soviet and American public here by U.S. journalist Hedrick Smith, who has worked as a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Moscow. He cited them as an indication of the improving relations between our states.

Does all this mean that the USSR and the United States have entered an era of stability and predictability in their relations? Not at all. At a session of the roundtable "The USSR and the United States: How We See One Another," where H. Smith gave a speech, the following fact was also cited: The same public opinion polls show that a considerable proportion of Americans still don't trust the USSR.

What is the reason for this? The debate here mirrors, as it were, the still immutable fact that forces interested in cultivating the enemy image and preserving a considerable proportion of Americans' distrust of the Soviet Union are still extremely powerful and active. Some people need this in order to obtain excessive profits from arms production, and others build a political career on this perception. Be that as it may, deliberately imposing outmoded stereotypes and ideas of another people in the nuclear age may lead to dangerous and unpredictable consequences. The conference participants note that both U.S. and Soviet politicians, scientists, and journalists still have a great deal of work to do to ensure that trust enters into our relations, the peoples of the USSR and the United States know the truth about one another, and the old thinking recedes into the past.

Here is an example of a stereotype that people still sometimes plant in Americans' minds. At a session of the roundtable on the subject "Regional Conflict," Michael Mandelbaum, director of the International Relations Council East-West Program, said in this context that one of the reasons the USSR keeps some of its troops in Eastern Europe is to intimidate the Warsaw Pact countries, whose peoples don't accept socialism.

Academician Ye.M. Primakov called on his U.S. interlocutors to discard this and stereotypes like it. Having noted that USSR-U.S. collaboration is enabling them to take the first successful steps in settling regional problems, he said that world conflict situations must not be seen exclusively in the light of USSR-U.S. confrontation. There are far more complex situations which arise as a result of particular socioeconomic, historical, geographic, and other factors. In the academician's opinion, a given conflict situation must not under any circumstances be used to build up one's own military presence. Regional instability may become a detonator capable of blowing up the entire international situation.

...Debate is under way at the conference. It also continues on the streets and in the lobby of the "Iveriya" Hotel, where most of the Americans were accommodated. Some buy Soviet newspapers and ask for translations of our hot press reports. M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk and the latest USSR foreign policy initiatives are on the lips of many Americans. U.S. astronaut Michael Collins, who took part in an expedition to the moon, showed interest in the USSR's proposal to create an international cooperation center at the Krasnoyarsk radar base to use space for peaceful purposes.

"It sounds like a very good idea," he told me. "Gorbachev's proposal must be studied comprehensively."

Other Americans supported this. They believe that an attentive and unprejudiced attitude to one another's thoughts and initiatives facilitates trust between us and, thus, peace.

Chervov, Glitman Address Forum
PM2209144988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov: "Policy of Reason Rather Than Policy of Strength"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 21 Sep—Participants in the fourth conference of representatives of the Soviet and American public currently taking place in Tbilisi have been giving enormous attention to the progress of the discussion at the plenary session on the subject: "Limiting the Nuclear and Conventional Arms Race." The Soviet ideas on this question were set out in the speech by Colonel General N. Chervov, chief of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. The Soviet Union, he emphasized, proposes building peace without nuclear explosions, without nuclear weapons in the world, without arms in space, and without chemical weapons; the kind of peace with which the risk of a nuclear catastrophe would be reduced to a minimum and, in the long term, completely eliminated, and where the policy of strength would give way to the policy of reason.

The Soviet Union backs up its policies with real action. The USSR has pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Our country observed a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions for 18 months. We are still prepared to end nuclear tests any day, on the condition that the United States does the same. The USSR has offered the United States and NATO a specific phased plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and, together with its allies, a program to radically reduce conventional arms and armed forces throughout the territory of Europe. The Soviet Union proposes specific measures for cuts in naval weapons. M.S. Gorbachev recently offered new proposals in this connection in Krasnoyarsk.

The plenary session was addressed on the American side by envoy M. Glitman, who once headed the U.S. delegation at the intermediate-range missile talks. As is well known, these talks culminated in the signing and subsequent ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

"This is the first time we have achieved something tangible," M. Glitman said in this connection. "It is a fine, promising treaty. I am sure that its implementation will not only be in the interests of the two sides but to the benefit of the whole world. We must learn from these successful talks."

We have no objections to this view, of course. On the other hand, we can in no way agree with the stand taken by Glitman when he defended the need to continue nuclear explosions and tried to use geography to persuade people that the U.S. Navy is an exclusively defensive body and that, unlike other countries, the United States could certainly not do without its enormous naval might. The American spokesman also defended the implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative." But this would mean a new round in the arms race, which could have tragic consequences for mankind.

Even while still making their speeches, the speakers began to receive notes on stage with a multitude of questions: How can we dispose of the by-products from the destruction of nuclear weapons without damaging the environment? What led to the breakthrough in the disarmament sphere—Reagan's arms buildup program or Gorbachev's policy? Would it be right for the Soviet Union to station its military bases on the territory of its allies in the Western Hemisphere? These and many other questions and their answers were the subject of a lively discussion by the conference participants.

The conference in Tbilisi is proceeding in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere. Even now we can say that it is doing a good job of continuing the process begun in Chatauqua and Yurmala. During the present meeting, people have been discussing human rights issues, the role of the mass media in relations between our countries, and so forth. There is still a great deal to discuss.

More on Chervov, Glitman Debate

LD2209021188 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT
21 Sep 88

[Text] Tbilisi September 21 TASS—The participations in the fourth meeting of representatives of Soviet and American public, which continues here, followed with great interest today's dialogue between Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, chief of department of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and Maynard Glitman, U.S. ambassador to Belgium who took part in the INF Treaty talks. In their own countries they take part in the adoption of decisions which are then discussed at the talks. Their free and easy personal contact with one another, the result of their frequent meetings, did not remove the acuity from their today's discussion. The position of the Soviet general rested on concrete facts and logic, which the U.S. opponent sometimes seemed to lack. Among other things, Glitman said that the USSR, unlike the USA, was not a maritime power and that this gave his country the right to surround Soviet territory with naval bases. But even if one assumes this to be so, then why does the American side so stubbornly object to the USSR's superiority in tanks? For the fact is that it should be logical for a "land power".

In the lobby talk during the conference journalists also heard this opinion: Some American officials still appear to espouse the "good and bad guys" approach. All that Americans are doing is good and everything emanating from the USSR is bad.

In sharing his impressions of the discussions, Tyron Svenson, a Georgetown college president, said that they are not without their difficulties: Each side persists in considering its own approach as the only correct and constructive one. As one can see, such dissatisfaction is felt by many participants both American and Soviet. The audience was, perhaps, completely unanimous in assessing the statement of Nikolay Shishlin, a responsible official from the CPSU Central Committee, who said that one cannot apply only one's own political or military yardstick to the whole world. The measure of responsibility is determined by the ability to see and accept differences.

Two Approaches Contrasted

LD2209102988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2326 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; report by special correspondent Vladimir Pozner from Tbilisi]

[Text] The hot weather in Tbilisi fully reflects the heated discussions that have developed at the fourth meeting of the USSR and U.S. public. They perhaps reached their highest pitch yesterday during debates on human rights and the news media, two areas where differences of opinion and approach between the two countries are particularly clear.

Mind you, at today's morning session devoted to the limitation of the nuclear and conventional arms race, the difference of approach was also manifest. Colonel General Nikolay Fedorovich Chervov clearly set out the Soviet position.

[Begin Chervov recording] Our strategy in the sphere of limiting the arms race, alongside the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, is to continue the process of reducing armaments in all spheres and to make this process continuous. The more we manage to do in this area with President Reagan's administration, the better it will be for the preservation of all the positive elements that have emerged in Soviet-U.S. relations. We believe that there is a possibility of completing preparations for a draft treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear armaments, of preparing and concluding in the near future a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons, and of preparing a nuclear test ban agreement.

The prospects for drawing up this year a mandate and for starting talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is quite realistic. [end recording]

U.S. Ambassador to Belgium Glitman, who led the U.S. delegation at the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, expressed himself very vaguely. Basically he did not reply to a single Soviet proposal. A few U.S. officials, chatting to your correspondent, explained Mr Glitman's stance by the uncertain situation in the United States on the eve of the presidential elections.

However that may be, one thing is clear: The joint discussion of problems by official delegates and representatives of the public of the Soviet Union and the United States can only serve the main goal: to break the stereotypes and achieve mutual understanding.

Carlucci Remarks on PRC Viewed

OW2109155488 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Dear listeners, the authorities in Washington have decided to continue intensifying their policy of military and political confrontation with the Soviet Union in the western Pacific. U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci made this statement during a speech in Hong Kong after ending his official visit to China. He said: The United States should continue forward positioning of its forces in the Asia-Pacific region. Our station observer Belov writes in this connection:

Frankly speaking, I was hoping that after Mr Carlucci ended his visit to China, I would no longer hear such warlike language. For instance, the U.S. policy of applying military pressure on the Soviet Union is obsolete and has proven to be ineffective. One must realize that whenever the United States discusses its Pacific policy, it likes to state that the United States voluntarily shoulders the so-called lofty mission of protecting Asia. By the way, I would like to mention that the United States has not hidden its disappointment with regards to the protection of China, although China has never been an ally of the United States and has never asked for its protection. Protection against whom? Protection against the Soviet Union, of course. During the talks in Beijing, China clearly expressed to Carlucci that China does not believe Soviet policy poses any sort of threat. Sino-Soviet relations have been developing smoothly, and will continue to do so in the future.

In order to avoid the accusation of not being objective, the U.S. defense secretary had to confirm this during his speech in Hong Kong. He said: In response to what I have heard in Beijing, I think there is no doubt that the Sino-Soviet dialogue will continue. Thus the Pentagon chief has not been entrusted with the mission of protecting China against sinister neighbors.

However, it seems that this situation has no effect on Washington's general line. According to Carlucci, the United States should continue forward positioning of its forces in the Asia-Pacific region. The crux of the issue lies here. It looks as though nothing can change the stance of the United States. For example, regardless of

the fact that the Soviet Union has not reinforced its troops in the Far East for many years, or that the number of Soviet troops stationed along the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia has been repeatedly reduced, the U.S. position has not changed. Washington has ignored the Soviet attitude of restraint during its military exercises and its efforts to keep the number and scale of military exercises down to previous levels. Even measures by the Soviet Union, such as destroying its intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in its Asian territories, have been unable to capture the attention of the Pentagon's staff.

What is the reason? I believe we must not take too seriously the inappropriate request of the United States to protect Asian countries against the Soviet Union. Even if we base our judgment solely on this, we must note that U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary Armitage once declared forthrightly that the border of the United States lies 5,000 nautical miles west of San Francisco. One can draw only one conclusion from this: American politicians consider the entire Pacific Ocean up to the coast of East Asia as an American lake, and feel free to do as they please.

This viewpoint is clearly different from that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union only considers territorial waters in the Pacific Ocean as its own. Everyone knows that Soviet territorial waters extend 12 nautical miles from the coast. Waters outside this region are international waters. International does not mean they belong to the United States. In fact the Pentagon even comes to regard Soviet territorial waters as their own. Otherwise, American naval vessels would not have violated Soviet territorial waters in the Sea of Okhotsk, and American military aircraft would not have flown over Soviet airspace in order to display their might. Confronted with such behavior from American servicemen, it is understandable that the Soviet Union must be prepared. Of course, this falls within the realm of our military theories for defense.

Washington understands this very well. But like what Carlucci said in Hong Kong, it has deliberately continued to act deaf and dumb, as though an illusion exists whereby under constant military pressure, the Soviet Union will get tired and finally agree to allow the Pacific Ocean become an American lake. However, I would like to reiterate that this is, after all, only an illusion. No matter what Washington thinks, the fact is that beyond the territorial waters of the Soviet Union, China, and Japan, lie international waters and not an inland sea of the United States.

Kissinger Views on U.S.-Soviet Policy Disputed

*PM2109112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Sep 88 First Edition p 4*

[Yuriy Zhukov "Observer's Notes": "Mr Kissinger's Worries"]

[Text] NEWSWEEK has published a long article by Henry Kissinger, former U.S. national security adviser and secretary of state. The article is made up of his

thoughts on the current international situation and the direction that the foreign policy of the United States and its allies should take in the future. His arguments focus on the question of U.S.-Soviet relations, in whose development Kissinger was directly involved in the past. It was he, in particular, who once made considerable efforts to work out the nuclear arms limitation treaty subsequently known as SALT II.

At that time he was typically realistic in resolving international problems, and his current article, which looks like a policy document, has naturally been attracting attention. All the more so as its publication coincided with the announcement of the important foreign policy initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's 16 September speech in Krasnoyarsk.

The new, far-reaching Soviet initiatives have attracted universal attention, not least in the United States. They are meeting with support everywhere, strengthening the hope that new thinking—which is winning more and more supporters—is prevailing in international relations. However, certain circles in the United States—circles to which Kissinger, who is an influential ideologue there, now belongs—stubbornly oppose this turn of events.

Automatically casting doubt on any initiative by the USSR or its allies, they allege again and again that the "Soviet threat" remains and that in the face of it the entire "noncommunist world" should close ranks to "maintain its leading position," as Washington puts it.

Kissinger opens his article, which has the air of a political manifesto, in the following way: "The postwar era in international relations is coming to an end. Such periods of transition have always presented opportunities, but they have also involved turmoil and struggle. Many Western leaders, however, take a different view of today's situation. They paint an idyllic (?) picture in which changes will occur thanks to a new type of communist leader. Glasnost and restructuring are seen as the key factor in eliminating international tension."

So far, so accurate. The glasnost and restructuring being implemented in the USSR arouse growing sympathy abroad. Such sentiments are growing in the United States too. A recent opinion poll just published in the prestigious U.S. journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS shows that 94 percent of U.S. citizens now believe that U.S.-Soviet relations have stabilized and are gradually improving. The journal notes that this emerging confidence is a direct outcome of the Soviet-U.S. summits and the agreements reached between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President.

But now, it seems, this change in attitude on the part of Americans—and much more on the part of Europeans—is scaring certain people in Washington. Reflecting these fears, Kissinger writes with patent annoyance that even

"traditionally pro-American groups" in West Europe, particularly the FRG, are starting to respond to the "calls from the East." "More and more European political candidates," he states, "journey to Moscow, sometimes even in preference to Washington."

The author of the NEWSWEEK article is particularly perturbed by the "too appealing by half" Soviet proposal on the building of an all-European home. Considering the creation of a "European home with Russian participation" to be completely unacceptable to the United States, Kissinger contrasts this concept with another, by which the "European home will (?) extend from the Polish-Soviet frontier to the Atlantic, and its core will be a united Western Europe." In other words, it is planned to return to Dulles' concept—already a dead letter in the late fifties—of "rolling back communism" and "freeing" East Europe, from which the USSR is excluded.

Kissinger realizes that the United States is now no longer able to dictate its will to all and sundry. "We can no longer maintain the balance of power purely independently," he states bitterly. "We must learn to rely on coalition and equilibrium." And now we are faced with new approaches which the United States, in his opinion, must use to respond to the USSR's enterprising foreign policy.

What are we talking about?

First, this man who in the past made considerable efforts to resolve the nuclear arms limitation problem now does not even want to contemplate a rejection of the notorious "nuclear deterrence" doctrine. "If existing arsenals are cut by 50 percent," he writes, "the remaining forces will become more vulnerable, especially on the U.S. side." And his barbs are even aimed at the U.S. President, who in principle agrees with such reductions.

"How often can the phrase 'a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought' be repeated in U.S.-Soviet communiques?" he asks indignantly. "How many reductions of nuclear weapons are possible before the strategy of flexible response (this refers to the concept of a mounting escalation of the use of nuclear weapons in wartime—Yu.Zh.) becomes unfeasible? Step-by-patient-step, the Soviets are gaining a de facto veto (?) over NATO nuclear defense policy...."

Second, Kissinger demands that NATO be strengthened and the military-political integration of Western Europe accelerated, having convinced its leaders of the danger of cooperating with the USSR. "Otherwise," he states, "some Western leaders will grow so politically and psychologically dependent on Moscow that they will do anything to avoid the Kremlin's displeasure."

Third, he proposes immediately setting about strengthening U.S. positions in Asia and knocking together pro-U.S. and anti-Soviet coalitions there, warning that

this will be no easy matter since "Asian states have never felt especially dependent on the United States for security or so afraid of the Soviet Union."

Well, if they're not afraid, according to Kissinger, they must be convinced that they have something to be afraid of! But how can this be done especially now, when the complex of large-scale proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev 16 September aimed at consolidating peace in Asia has met with active support in the countries of this region? Kissinger is forced to admit that it would be difficult to swim against the tide since the "United States has a less direct influence on the balance of power in Asia than it does in Europe... In Asia, Korea excepted, no American troops are on the front line." He could add that virtually all the military blocs knocked together by the United States in Asia after World War II have departed this life. Nonetheless Kissinger is calling for a renewal of the quest for friends and allies on this gigantic continent.

In the meantime only Japan's pro-U.S. military-political orientation satisfies him. Especially since its military budget "is already the third largest in the world." But here's the rub: The factor of economic rivalry between Japan and the United States, which may wreck everything, is increasingly coming into play. Nonetheless Washington has no more reliable friend in Asia.

Kissinger also ponders the fact that China cannot be fitted into Washington's far-reaching calculations. But—alas!—as he himself believes, "the prospect is for a steady improvement in Sino-Soviet relations" and "whether the United States can understand and accept Beijing's sophisticated diplomacy will be the next test for Sino-U.S. relations."

Then there's India. Kissinger admits that this great Asian power will play "an increasingly marked role" in the world arena in the future. But here he finally loses his sense of reality by claiming that "its goals are analogous to those of Britain east of the Suez in the 19th century." "Delhi's policy," he asserts, "is condemned (?) to rivalry with Moscow in the Indian Ocean and with China and Japan in Southeast Asia."

It may be thought that the author of this staggering claim has not read the Soviet-Indian Delhi declaration on a nonviolent and nuclear-free world, which clearly and precisely enshrines the principles of Indian policy that coincide with the principles of the new foreign policy thinking guiding the Soviet Union.

What can be said about the ideas expounded by Kissinger regarding these and other Asian countries? There's nothing new about them. The United States, he says, must be the "guarantor of equilibrium" in Asia, mobilizing "local forces" to achieve its aims, but ultimately it must put its trust in U.S. and NATO force of arms,

primarily nuclear arms. Here he once again sounds the alarm over the fact that USSR policy based on the new thinking may "paralyze a serious arms buildup in the West."

A reader may ask: Is it worth paying attention to the opinions of a former U.S. statesman who is frozen into the ice of the "cold war" and refuses to realize that world development is proceeding along a new path? For the U.S. President, on hearing of the Soviet leader's new proposals, said that he must familiarize himself with them and added: "We will do everything within our power to improve relations between our two countries."

Yes, this statement is of importance. Nonetheless one cannot fail to note that many senior representatives of the U.S. Administration, without waiting to obtain the full text of the Soviet proposals, have rushed to reject them "from the outset," as a ABC White House correspondent said on the evening of 16 September in a television program. Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, national security adviser to the U.S. President; Marlin Fitzwater, White House spokesman for press relations; and Richard Armitage, assistant defense secretary; did this. They were joined by Republican Senator Richard Lugar. And he was not by himself.

Consequently, the negative positions expounded extensively in NEWSWEEK are by no means the fruit of the thought of a single "knight of the woeful countenance." His opinions reflect the views of increasingly influential forces that are clearly frightened by the continuing Soviet peace offensive which accords with the aspirations of the peoples, who have grown tired of confrontation and want peaceful international cooperation.

But these men clearly overestimate their forces and capabilities, thinking that their hasty "no" to the latest Soviet initiatives will weaken their significance and allow them to foist their own assessments on people to whom these proposals are addressed in the first place—the countries of the gigantic Asia-Pacific region. A great constructive discussion on strengthening security in this region is only just beginning. There is every reason to assume that it will be fruitful, as many prominent figures in Asian countries expect.

Soviet Officials Receive U.S. Congressman

LD2209132988 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yuriy Khristoradnov received U.S. Congressman John Brown today.

They talked about further expansion of contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and U.S. Congress, mutual exchange of information, the use for the purpose of such a form, for instance, as T.V. link-ups.

Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov took part in the talk.

China

Rogachev Interviewed on Relations With PRC

LD2209151488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1325 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Sep (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev has replied to questions of a TASS diplomatic correspondent on the present state of Soviet-Chinese relations. [This and subsequent additions and variations are reported by Moscow International Service in Mandarin at 1400 GMT on 22 September in a similar 7-minute "full text" report. The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as: "USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev has replied to questions of a TASS correspondent on the present state of Soviet-Chinese relations."...deleting "diplomatic"] The full text now follows:

Question: What results of your talks in Beijing can be evaluated as positive, contributing to the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations?

Answer: The recent meeting at deputy foreign ministers' level held in Beijing was devoted to the examination of questions connected with the settlement surrounding Cambodia. [The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as: "Answer: The recent work meeting at deputy foreign ministers' level held in Beijing was devoted to the examination of questions connected with the settlement surrounding Cambodia."...adding "work"] The Soviet side is satisfied with results of the talks which express the striving of both sides for an early and just solution of this conflict situation which has been for 10 years the source of tension in Southeast Asia. The thorough and specific dialogue helped to clarify each other's positions and to broaden the sphere of mutual understanding, although it has to be noted that serious differences still remain. The Soviet Union and China, although they are not directly involved in the conflict, are interested in its earliest just and rational settlement, and we are confident that this meeting created a good basis for the continuation and deepening of exchanges of views in the interests of ensuring favorable external conditions for the political settlement of the Cambodian problem. [The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as: "The Soviet Union and China, although they are not directly involved in the conflict, are very concerned with [shi fen guan xin] its earliest just and rational settlement, and we are confident that this meeting created a good basis for the continuation and deepening of exchanges of views in the interests of ensuring favorable conditions for the political settlement of the Cambodian problem."...rewording, providing vernacular, deleting "external"]

Question: What problems remain as obstacles on the path toward improved relations between the USSR and the PRC?

Answer: It is the opinion of the Soviet side that at present there are no objective obstacles of any kind for the development of our ties with China. The existence of certain differences and various viewpoints on a number of questions—this is quite normal in relations between two states. The political dialogue, which is broadening and becoming increasingly lively, creates prerequisites for the further deepening of mutual understanding. We advocate a full-scale political dialogue with the PRC on any question that is of interest to any one of the two sides, a dialogue at any level. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his recent speech in Krasnoyarsk, the Soviet Union is ready to start without delay a preparation for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Question: What is your assessment of the present state of Soviet-Chinese relations?

Answer: The change for the better in Soviet-Chinese relations is continuing. Currently links and contacts are being implemented in virtually all spheres of interstate relations, including on the basis of long-term agreements. Mutually favorable national economic links are acquiring a stable character, the number of economic and technical cooperation projects is increasing. Relations between the border areas of the two countries are developing dynamically. [The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as "Border trade between the two countries is developing dynamically."...rewording] Simplification of the visa procedures will promote expansion of and the search for new forms of cooperation. The border talks are continuing in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. Their third round takes place in October this year. Through the Foreign Ministries of the two countries consultations are being held on individual international questions, including the questions of the UN activity. An exchange of opinions is being held on questions of disarmament and on regional conflicts. Our representatives are cooperating quite well in international organizations.

Question: What are your personal impressions of the visit to Beijing?

Answer: The Soviet representatives were given in Beijing a warm reception, which is generally characteristic of the past few years. [The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as: "Answer: The Soviet representatives were given in Beijing a warm reception."...deleting final phrase] In addition to PRC Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei, there was a meeting with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who expressed satisfaction with the constructive work carried out by the participants in the talks. They noted the importance of the mutual understanding reached regarding the two countries' intention to give practical help to a settlement of the external aspects of the Cambodian problem.

It must be said that the program of the working meeting was extremely full, the talks were intensive, businesslike and took place in a calm atmosphere. [The Mandarin version renders the previous sentence as "It must be said that the program of the working meeting was extremely full, the talks were businesslike and took place in a calm atmosphere." ...deleting "intensive"]

Question: What place does Soviet-Chinese dialogue occupy in the normalization of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region?

Answer: The positive processes taking place in the relations between such major states as the Soviet Union and China are without doubt helping most directly to improve the atmosphere in the world at large and even more in the actual region to which they belong, that is, the Asian-Pacific region.

Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Board Meets
OW2209133988 Moscow International Service
Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] The Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society held an enlarged meeting on 16 September at the House of Friendship With Peoples of Foreign Countries in Moscow. Board chairman of this society, Academician Tikhvinskiy, led a delegation from the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society to visit China. He addressed the meeting, stating his impression of his visit to China.

At the meeting, PRAVDA observer Ovchinnikov also spoke on his visit to China. He was head of a special delegation to China. The delegation was composed of activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association.

Also heard at the meeting were reports on hospitality received in the Soviet Union by a delegation of the China-USSR Friendship Association headed by Wu Xiuyan, president of the association's Central Board; and by a special delegation formed by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and activists of the China-USSR Friendship Association headed by Li Zewang, vice president of the association; and by other Chinese delegations.

Border Trade With PRC 'Gathering Pace'
PM2209125188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 20 Sep 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Pogarskiy report: "Neighbors and Partners. Border Contacts in Far East and Questions They Raise"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk—Only the Amur separates Blagoveshchensk from Heihe. Some 700-800 meters. However, until recently the way across the border river was, with rare exceptions, firmly barred. Now Chinese guests in the

Soviet city are nothing unusual. They meet with representatives of the local branch of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, visit various enterprises or the school where Chinese language is taught, and attend festive events. For their part, our people cross over to the right bank of the Amur for the same purpose. These contacts will be further boosted following the introduction of visa-free travel—talks on this issue have been successfully concluded. There will be an opportunity for regular exchanges of scientific, cultural, and sports delegations.

Border trade is swiftly gathering pace against this background. The PRC province of Heilongjiang and the Soviet Far East are far removed from their countries' major industrial centers and have to ship in a sizable proportion of products from far away. Major shortages of various commodities are experienced on both sides of the river. Barter trade—the exchange of commodities within the framework of equivalence—has been reinstated between the USSR and the PRC in order to eliminate these shortages. True, the Chinese yuan and the Soviet ruble are not mutually convertible. Nonetheless, mutually acceptable solutions are successfully found. (In this case, the Swiss franc is used as a unit of account.) The Chinese partners supply soybeans, grains, meat, textile products, footwear, batteries, and towels. This enables Soviet trading organizations to acquire commodities for retail trade worth tens of millions of rubles. For our part, we ship to our partners various construction materials, mineral fertilizers, refrigerators, pianos, and so on.

The so-called local or small-scale trade is distinguished by a rather high degree of trust. This is the simplest variety of border trade. All operations are conducted without bank involvement. Commodities are exchanged on a compensatory basis, on the somewhat ironically but accurately dubbed principle of "a bag for a bag."

An exhibition of sample commodities offered by Heihe District was recently held in Blagoveshchensk. About 2,000 articles were on show, ranging from foodstuffs and children's toys to mini-tractors. Both sides were pleased with the contracts which were concluded. People from Amur Oblast are now preparing a return exhibition. The Agro-Industrial Committee and the Oblast Potrebsoyuz account for a large proportion of the commodity turnover. Owners of personal yards who sell surplus meat, milk, and potatoes and active pickers of brake and other gifts of the taiga enjoy the right to priority purchase of imported goods in the countryside.

It is an interesting fact that partners establish direct ties with each other without preliminary consent from Moscow or Beijing. Therefore trade across the Amur is, if you like, a material expression of people's diplomacy which is gaining increasingly broad scope. Supplementing the development of contacts at state level, it serves to strengthen good-neighborly relations and meets both

countries' current and long-term interests. The Chinese even say: Trade across the Amur is a supplementary but by no means secondary matter.

The time has come to more profoundly interpret the accumulated experience and to coordinate efforts. Especially since other countries neighboring the Soviet Far East and Siberia are showing greater interest in the development of border trade. First and foremost the DPRK, Vietnam, Japan, and of course Mongolia. Some totally unexpected orders are received at times. The Japanese, for example, ask for river sand to lay golf courses.

In this context it is impossible not to mention a remarkable regional conference held in Blagoveshchensk. It was organized by the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Representatives of autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts participating in border trade, as well as officials from republican ministries and USSR trade missions in a number of Asian countries were invited to attend. The last time such a conference was held was 20 years ago!

Participants in the meeting were unanimous that Siberia and the Far East are capable of becoming an arena of far-reaching cooperation with a whole series of Pacific countries. There are already 10 ASSR's, krais, and oblasts involved in it on the Soviet side, representing a total of 260 enterprises and organizations under 23 ministries. Commodity exchange between partners doubles every year. The pace is exceptional. This is sufficiently convincing proof of the assertion of new political thinking in a vast region, which was given a powerful boost following M.S. Gorbachev's well known speech in Vladivostok. But by no means do all Soviet participants in border trade play an equally active role in it. Maritime and Khabarovsk Krais are the most active, accounting for one-half of all export deliveries. Nonetheless, the nature of the commodities we sell offers food for thought.

We bring into exchange operations commodities from market stocks and goods acquired through decentralized purchases. In other words, we pass on goods which we ourselves have shipped great distances rather than locally produced items. Local production means nothing but various raw materials. Timber, coal, and so on. And this timber is, in most cases, in the form of rough logs without any extensive processing. And what do we get in exchange? Consumer goods, more often than not. They are also necessary, of course. But exchanging timber for, excuse the language, underpants or beer (and there have been such instances, alas!) clearly makes no economic sense. As for the Chinese, they are embarking on the construction of new enterprises to manufacture goods in great demand among the Soviet population. Not a single one of our oblasts has a similar program. The Amur Comprehensive Scientific Research Institute is perhaps the only one with fresh ideas on this account. It has suggested setting up a science and technology center

under its auspices to bring together fundamental science, experimental design bureaus, and several existing enterprises for the purpose of organizing the manufacture of high-technology output.

Welcoming the further development of border trade in all its forms, the participants in the conference simultaneously drew attention to the need for a uniform policy on price formation questions, the strengthening of cooperation between "Dalintorg" and the "Dalprigran" firm, and the creation of appropriate foreign economic ties departments under local soviets of people's deputies. There is also a need for effective information on market conditions in partner countries. Some of the concerns in this direction will be taken over by the recently established "Rosvneshtorg." It is necessary to go further along the path of deepening economic ties through production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises. There is an interesting idea for involving foreigners in the construction of highways, hotels, and enterprises envisaged under the Long-Term State Program for the Comprehensive Development of Productive Forces in the Far East Economic Region, the Buryat ASSR, and Chita Oblast Through the Year 2000. Koreans, Vietnamese, and Chinese are already working in our territory on mutually advantageous terms. The Koreans in particular grow vegetables, cucurbits, and other agricultural produce and are prepared to undertake the construction of hothouses. The Japanese are also seeking alternatives forms of cooperation with agro-industrial committees.

The scope of our plans on the one hand and the acute shortage of cadres in the Far East on the other hand demand a careful study of proposals by foreign partners enjoying a surplus of manpower. V. Moiseyenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Amur Branch, raised what seemed a reasonable question. The PRC province of Heilongjiang is suffering from a major shortage of timber in the wake of large-scale fires, while we are finding it totally impossible to clear the bed of the planned reservoir for the Bureya GES now under construction. Having flooded a forest on the bed of the Zeyskoye Reservoir in the past, we have left to our descendants what the scientist described as a unique monument to barbarism. Are we now not talking about the creation of a second monument to barbarism. Would it not be better, since we cannot cope by ourselves, to accept the Chinese side's proposals? There is some food for thought.

Questions, questions... There are plenty of them. And they all have to be answered, since border contacts await extension. This is clear to us, it is clear to our partners. And there is no shortage of good will.

Northeast Asia

Envoy to Japan Calls for Improved Relations
OW2209115888 Tokyo KYODO in English
1147 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 22 KYODO—Soviet Ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev said Thursday his country is ready to discuss all bilateral problems between the two countries.

The ambassador also said, however difficult these problems may be, agreement must be reached through resolutions acceptable to both sides.

Solovyev made the remarks in fluent Japanese at a session of the House of Councillors' panel on diplomacy and security.

The ambassador said his country wants to fundamentally improve relations with Japan and that it is ready to expand ties with Japan in fields as wide as possible.

It is necessary for the two countries to hold cautious and frank dialogue for development of their relations, Solovyev said.

The Soviet Union is ready to develop exchanges in areas of economy and science and technology if Japan wishes to do so, he said.

Perestroika in the economic area in his country will pave way for development of economic cooperation between the two countries, he said.

The ambassador said the economic exchanges so far have contributed to improvement of political atmosphere between the two countries and that he hopes this will develop further.

Soviet-Japan relations play an important role for peace in the Pacific region and the Soviet Union has no intention to gain a privileged position in the region, Solovyev said.

The Soviet Union is ready to reveal data on Soviet military forces in the Pacific, he said.

He said his country has established good and reliable ties with China and that if Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's recent proposals in Krasnoyarsk are realized, tension in the Pacific will be eased.

Solovyev said the Soviet Union is also ready to discuss the issue of Korean people in Sakhalin who were forced to go there by Japanese before and during World War II.

Japanese Foreign Ministry Official Cited on Ties
LD2309092288 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 23 TASS—A high-ranking spokesman for the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has described the words by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, about mutual striving of the two countries for dynamisation of relations on the basis of a balance of bilateral and regional interests as "realistic and future-oriented approach to bilateral Soviet-Japanese relations".

The spokesman made the statement in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a special news conference devoted to Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk and to Japanese-Soviet relations. He also singled out the portion from the Soviet leader's speech in which hope was expressed that the positive tonality would receive continuation during forthcoming political consultations.

"We have gathered the impression that this is a very frank description of the present state of Japanese-Soviet relations, devoid of propaganda angle. It sincerely expresses aspiration for their improvement," he pointed out. At the same time the spokesman said that the so-called territorial problem which is the centerpiece of political relations had a negative effect on them.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry regards Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's welcoming of the USSR's readiness for an improvement of bilateral Soviet-Japanese relations as the basic moment in the evaluation of the Krasnoyarsk speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, the spokesman said.

As for the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev about strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region (APR), the spokesman once again pointed out the hope expressed by the head of the Japanese Government that 'the USSR will take concrete measures to ensure security in the region'. The spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry said in this connection that the Soviet initiatives concerning APR 'are being attentively studied'.

Speaking of other aspects of the speech made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry emphasized: "The Soviet Union showed a very positive approach with regard to China from the view point of the proposal on holding of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting."

Touching upon the question of Japanese-Soviet economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations, the Japanese spokesman said that the two countries now maintain wide trade relations. An agreement on cultural cooperation was signed two years ago. The Japanese side hopes that under the agreement a committee for cultural relations will be set up. There is also a joint inter-governmental committee for science and technology.

It would be wrong to believe that bilateral relations are in a state of complete stagnation. Quite the contrary is the case, the existing relations are normal and they have gained a considerable potential, the spokesman said.

DPRK's 'Constructive Stance' on Unification
PM2209142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by political observer V. Matveyev: "The 38th Parallel"]

[Text] Pyongyang-Moscow—The author wrote this report before the opening of the Olympic Games in Seoul, right after his trip to the DPRK at the beginning

of September. It was not the DPRK's fault that its efforts to have the games held jointly in the South and the North were, unfortunately, not crowned with success. It is a reflection of the abnormal situation which has prevailed for a considerable length of time—the split in a nation which lived under conditions of a unified state from the 10th through the 14th century. In these notes the author shares his impressions of what he saw and heard recently in the DPRK.

First the asphalt road came to an end, then the dirt road, and then the car began negotiating the potholes of steep rises, weaving its way through the green bushes covering the slopes of the surrounding hills. This year the summer on Korean soil continued into September. The days turned out hot and cloudless. Fall colors were revealed only in the rice plantations, which people had only just begun harvesting, including in the 2km-wide northern belt of the demilitarized zone dividing the Korean peninsula. Here too not a single plot of land fit for cultivation has remained untilled. On driving into the zone in the region of Panmunjom with representatives of the DPRK military authorities I saw there not only rice plantations but also ginseng ones. The strain of this medicinal plant grown in the region adjacent to Kaesong is particularly renowned for its qualities.

But in this case the purpose of the trip was to familiarize myself with the situation on the North-South demarcation line. After Panmunjom we proceeded east. We were to take a look at an ordinary section of the demilitarized zone. The higher our car climbed, the more clearly we could hear a voice from a powerful loudspeaker in the distance. I asked DPRK Foreign Ministry staffer Che Khen-sik [name as published], who was accompanying me, who was broadcasting what. My guide grinned: "Now you will find out everything..."

At the top of the hill we were greeted by a military man with the rank of colonel. We entered the outpost's small room and emerged on the other side: Before us there was a panorama of a terrain indented with deep folds, with mountains showing blue in the distance. We looked through the tube of a viewing device and saw on the other side soldiers with dogs by wire entanglements and a concrete wall.

"The wall is 5-6 meters high and 240 km long, with emplacements every 50 meters along it," the colonel said.

We had been noticed on the other side. The loudspeaker set up on a tower stepped up its volume. The voice broadcasts "from there." But what?

"The same old thing: The South Koreans live better, and so we must switch to their side," the colonel explained. He drew attention to a slogan picked out in stones by the concrete wall: "For a direct North-South dialogue."

A strange appeal against a background of barbed wire and a concrete wall. But, perhaps, both the wire and the wall are relics of the past? I will share with my readers what I heard about this in Panmunjom, where the DPRK-U.S. armistice agreement was signed 27 July 1953 and where the organs monitoring its observance are now housed. The summer of 1988 could have gone down in history as an important milestone on the way to Korea's peaceful unification. Increasing pressure from below forced Seoul politicians to start talking of a dialogue with the North. Representatives of the youth of both parts of Korea were to have met in Panmunjom 10 June to discuss the organization of joint light athletics competitions, a march from the North to the South, and exchanges of divided families.

But what happened? Toward 1500, when the meeting was to have begun, representatives of the youth organizations of People's Korea were waiting for the arrival of guests from the South in the room of the neutral commission in Panmunjom. For 3 hours. Four hours.

In the evening of the same day it was learned that large forces of troops and police had blocked the path of the several thousand young men and women making their way from the South to Panmunjom. It had proved impossible to break through the cordons...

"If you blow, he will fly away; if you grab, he will break..." This Korean saying about the importance of parents' treating their children with care is also applicable to the object of the aspirations and concerns of every Korean patriot, regardless of where he or she lives—the attainment of the motherland's reunification.

Panmunjom is approximately 10 km from Kaesong. The former is now the visible expression of the boundary dividing the nation. The latter 1,000 years ago became the capital of the first unified state of Koryo, which existed for 4 centuries.

The flowering of handicrafts, trade, and culture began within the framework of the unified state of Koryo. It was then that a printing press appeared in the country—before this happened in Europe. Approximately 2,000 volumes of a historical chronicle were published. Incidentally, the 283d volume of that chronicle—a reprint of the original—was published in the DPRK this year. Pyongyang has a rich history museum. And a new one has just opened in Kaesong. Of course, this modern city has little in common with the ancient capital, but there is much of note from antiquity in the environs of Kaesong. The famous burial vaults of the kings of the Koryo Konmin [name as published] dynasty are situated here. There are solemn stone statues of civilian and military officials seemingly guarding the eternal rest of their sovereigns.

All this is just a small part of what Korea could have gladdened modern civilization with from its past. The scourge of wars—particularly the one which befell the

nation in the early fifties of our century—has spared no one and nothing. Almost all the present cities in the DPRK have been built since 1953.

How much more quickly people's Korea would have advanced if it had not of necessity had to divert forces and resources to the needs of defense!

More than a year ago the DPRK advanced a proposal for a large-scale reduction of the armed forces of the North and the South in order to lower their levels to 100,000 men on each side by 1992. As a sign of goodwill the DPRK unilaterally cut its Army by 100,000 men toward the end of 1987.

Thanks to the DPRK's enterprising policy, it was possible to embark on preliminary contacts between North and South parliamentarians. Four such meetings were held in Panmunjom. Organizational questions and questions of principle were discussed there. A new meeting is to take place in October.

What have these contacts shown? Here is what I heard about this during a conversation at the DPRK Foreign Ministry.

It has not yet been possible to reach the desired principled accord in the course of these contacts. In this connection three main conclusions follow from the difficult discussions that have taken place. First: The North-South dialogue is not necessary for the sake of the dialogue itself but must pursue the chief aim of the motherland's peaceful unification while preserving the existing sociopolitical orders in the North and the South. Second: By virtue of the nationwide task that has been set, this dialogue must be conducted not on a narrow, "selective" basis but with the participation of representatives of all sections of North and South society. And third: What specifically is to be discussed? There must be clarity here too. Military-political questions must not be excluded from the framework of the discussion. The nucleus of such questions is the preparation of a North-South nonaggression pact.

Without resolving these basic problems between the North and the South it is impossible to organize mutual exchanges, trade, trust, and national reconciliation. This is the belief in Pyongyang.

This is the 4th decade that huge military contingents have been facing each other on both sides of the demarcation line, while U.S. nuclear weapons are also stationed in South Korea simultaneously with the 40,000-strong expeditionary corps of U.S. troops. The density of the saturation of this part of the Korean peninsula with such weapons is four times greater than in NATO countries. This poses a potential danger not only to the population of the North and South of the peninsula but also to the whole vast Asia and Pacific region.

Incidentally, at the end of the seventies people in the United States began discussing the possibility of reducing the U.S. troops in South Korea. The question has not lost its topicality even now. All the more so because not only young people but also certain politicians in South Korea are beginning to come out from positions of upholding the interests of national sovereignty.

It is significant that the South Korean press has also devoted considerable attention these days to the new Soviet initiatives on the problem of all-Asian security. Particularly the proposal to discuss on a multilateral basis the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are in proximity.

During the celebrations in the DPRK of the 40th anniversary of the republic's creation readiness for top-level North-South talks to resolve such a question as the nation's unification was reaffirmed. The DPRK Government is ready to act also within the framework of a tripartite forum, in which U.S. representatives would also participate. Recently Pyongyang once again put to the U.S. Congress a proposal for talks aimed at substituting a peace agreement for the armistice agreement. But it is a strange thing that, whereas Washington officials do not cease making a fuss about some "threat from the North," they at once make themselves scarce when the talk turns to mutual pledges of nonaggression between the DPRK and the United States. They claim that it is impossible to discuss anything without Seoul. And Seoul now refers to the "unsuitable moment" to discuss fundamental problems, although the North-South joint statement adopted earlier put forward specific measures for normalizing the situation on the Korean peninsula. Things have moved no further, since the authorities in the South have gone into reverse.

A month ago NEWSWEEK correspondent W. Berger wrote from Seoul in the pages of this U.S. magazine: "In light of the bitter lessons of history it is not only premature but also unrealistic to think that the two countries are on the way to reconciliation..."

And here is another statement—from the London newspaper THE FINANCIAL TIMES. "Seoul's proposal to hold a top-level meeting with the DPRK was made under strong public pressure in the South..."

I could cite many more statements in the pages of the world press attesting to the interest that the present situation on the Korean peninsula arouses in various observers and commentators, and not only in connection with the Olympic Games in Seoul. The games began and will end, but the problem of national unity remains unresolved, creating tension and causing anxiety to the masses of Koreans on both sides of the 38th parallel—the North-South demarcation line. The fact that this line has been in existence for several decades does not mean that the Koreans as a nation are reconciled to it and consider it eternal. Not at all. The 38th parallel arose

under "cold war" conditions. Times are changing. The 38th parallel can and must disappear, giving way to a confederative united state while preserving the present two systems in the North and the South. This is the DPRK's constructive stance.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV's Vo Chi Cong Interviewed on Relations
LD2209174688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the SRV State Council, who is in the USSR on an official friendly visit, has given an interview to Moscow Radio. Answering a question on the significance of the initiatives put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk for the Asia-Pacific region, the high-ranking Vietnamese guest said:

[Begin Vo Chi Cong recording in Vietnamese, fading into Russian translation] Speaking in Vladivostok 2 years ago, Comrade Gorbachev put forward the well-known initiatives on the issues of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. To a considerable extent, they stimulated the rise of the struggle for peace in that tense area.

The latest important initiatives of Comrade Gorbachev further develop the statements made in Vladivostok. They demonstrate the efficacy of the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and are a new contribution by the Soviet state to strengthening peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vietnamese people and the SRV Government welcome the new Soviet initiatives. Vietnam is ready, just as in the past, and along with other countries, to contribute to the cause of ensuring peace and security in this part of the planet. [end recording]

Answering a question on the significance for Vietnam of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, which will soon mark its 10th anniversary, Comrade Vo Chi Cong noted the following:

[Begin Vo Chi Cong recording in Vietnamese, fading into Russian translation] Vietnamese-Soviet relations have deep roots. Since the Great October Revolution was completed, since Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese Communist, embarked on the path of Leninism, relations between our two states have developed permanently and become firmer.

The Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, signed on 3 November 1987—the 10th anniversary of which we will soon observe—is a document of exceptional importance. It reflects a new stage in the development of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples. The treaty has yielded

excellent results for the peoples of both countries, the joint cause of the socialist community, and the cause of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Implementation of the treaty has introduced an important contribution to the Vietnamese people's success in the cause of building and defending the motherland. The Vietnamese people are not only happy with the successes achieved in developing relations with the Soviet Union, but also gain inspiration from the prospect of developing these relations, especially following the May 1987 meeting between the general secretaries of our parties' Central Committees, Comrades Nguyen Van Linh and Gorbachev. [end recording]

Burma Beam Views Events, U.S. Envoy's Remarks
BK2209132288 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Burma, opposition leaders there are avoiding mass movements against the government formed by the military authorities. Shootings taking place there are only between the soldiers and some groups of people who are armed and trying to blockade roads in the country. It seems that at the moment, top opposition leaders are at a loss, not knowing what to do.

They are considering whether to continue the campaign to oppose the government or respond positively to the government's call to cooperate in efforts to build peace in the country.

As everybody knows, the military government headed by General Saw Maung has asked opposition leaders Aung San Suu Kyi, former General Tin U, and former Brigadier General Aung Gyi to prepare for multiparty general elections—a key demand of the people in staging demonstrations. Gen Saw Maung, who was elected prime minister in the new government, has said that the decision by the defense forces to take over state power was made in order to create conditions for the holding of such elections. It is learned that the opposition leaders will be meeting today to reply to the prime minister's request.

It must be noted at this point that the efforts to establish an interim government by staging strikes against the government are only worsening conditions and have given rise to bloodshed. Today, observers say that whatever their differences with the government may be, the opposition leaders should avail themselves of the opportunity to mount a legal challenge. If this is done, Burma may be able to avoid tragic events.

Moreover, all legal barriers that prohibit the activities by opposition parties have been removed by the present government. Hence, there are rays of hope that it may be possible to direct Burma's political process along the

peaceful path of development. The only condition for this to happen is that the contest between the government and the opposition be restricted to politics.

In this regard, the stand taken by some Western envoys is indeed surprising and difficult to understand. On the one hand, they blame the defense forces for shooting the people, but on the other hand, they are making announcements that encourage the opposition to pursue adventurism with unforeseen results. For instance, U.S. Ambassador Levin said that the government is in a hopeless situation. Of course, it is true that complications and difficulties plague the government. But to accept the American ambassador's statement is to understand that no compromise whatsoever is necessary. It can lead the country to economic ruin and make one Burmese kill another.

We'll refrain from discussing here why some people would want such a thing. The only thing that can be said with any certainty is that both the opposition and the government in Burma are publicly saying not to permit acts that can lead to bloodshed.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Visit by Afghan Prime Minister

Moscow News Conference

LD2209170788 *Kabul Domestic Service in Dari*
1600 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq news conference held in Moscow on 20 September; questioners identified where possible, with all questions presented in Dari—recorded]

[Text] [Sharq] Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed journalists:

You, dear friends, are aware that my accompanying delegation and I came to this country at the invitation of the USSR Government. My visit, which is the first official visit to a foreign country since my election as prime minister of Afghanistan, is taking place on the basis of the infallible determination of our people and the further consolidation of friendly relations between our peoples and governments. I am confident that you, esteemed journalists, are aware of the history of the friendly Afghan-USSR relations.

The friendly Afghan-USSR relations, which began in the first days of regaining political independence in Afghanistan and the early days of the creation of the Soviet Government, are increasingly consolidated despite the events of the times and various international conditions. These relations have successfully passed the test of history. The completion of the successful joint flight of the Afghan and Soviet cosmonauts has upgraded relations between our peoples and governments to a new qualitative level. Our current visit to the USSR, which is

taking place at a crucial period in the history of Afghanistan, enjoys fruitful and constructive results in the interests of continuing the historic good relations between our countries.

During this official and friendly visit, we had the opportunity to talk with His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, about all bilateral issues, including mutual and international relations, in an extremely friendly atmosphere and with full mutual understanding.

Our detailed talks with His Excellency N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, have convinced us that our Soviet friends, under the new political conditions, are further expanding and broadening the long-lasting tradition of assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan. You are aware that historic documents were signed today between the governments of our countries. One of these historic documents is about the long-term program of economic, technical, and commercial cooperation between the Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR for the period up to the year 2000. On the basis of this document, the USSR Government has accepted noticeable assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan for the revival and construction of all economic areas of our country.

The other document concluded today, in fact, indicates the commencement of assistance embodied in the first document, in which the USSR undertook a noticeable sum of assistance for the implementation of the long-term program for the Republic of Afghanistan beginning the date the first document takes effect. We also signed today a protocol about training Afghan students in the USSR up to year 1993.

In these historic documents our Soviet friends, in addition to bilateral cooperation with Afghanistan, also have accepted the donation of broad assistance for the revival and reconstruction of our country's economy through the extraordinary UN program for the Republic of Afghanistan which will be organized by His Excellency Prince Agha Khan.

During this visit, we carried out productive and useful talks with the head of governments of a number of USSR republics concerning the broadening of the direct assistance of these republics to various provinces of Afghanistan. These talks still continue.

I want to assure you explicitly, esteemed journalists, that my accompanying delegation and I are extremely satisfied with the results of this visit.

The people of Afghanistan and our misery-stricken country, which are confronted with the waves of a destructive and undeclared war, never will forget the Soviet friends' assistance in the most difficult period of their country's history.

You, esteemed journalists, are aware that the 10-year-old war in Afghanistan has brought formidable damage to the economic structure of our country, in addition to the great loss of life imposed on our people. The Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed the national reconciliation policy in order to get rid of the destructive misery of war, as a desirable method to put an end to fratricide, and it will forge ahead with this policy persistently, with all seriousness and earnestness. It was because of this humanitarian policy that we managed to bring about profound and broad transformations in the sociopolitical and economic structure of the country. Now the coalition administration of the multiparty system, the mixed and multibased economy, have been established in our country and are being consolidated successfully.

The Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan gives the right of peaceful activities to all political parties. The country's parliament has convened the second round of its regular session, discussing various issues of the country's sociopolitical and economic life.

The national reconciliation policy prepared the ground for a number of our opposition compatriots to refrain from war and assist us in implementing the national reconciliation policy. Nearly 160,000 of our compatriots who became homeless in other countries have returned to the land of their ancestors, resumed their honorable work, and continued their peaceful lives.

As a result of following the humane principles of the national reconciliation policy, the Republic of Afghanistan with its broad flexibility, made it possible to conclude the Geneva accords. Our people have chosen as their highest desire and aspiration the conclusion and implementation of the Geneva accords, the cessation of interference from abroad, and the restoration of durable peace in the country. On the basis of this legitimate demand of the people, the Republic of Afghanistan so far has observed and will observe the provisions of the Geneva accords without any hesitation or carelessness. The world's public are witness to the fact that our Soviet friends, too, as one of the guarantors, are carefully observing and implementing the provisions of the concluded accords.

With regret, allow me to inform you, esteemed journalists, that the other signatories of Geneva accords, that is to say the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the United States, have stood up with hostility against this sacred aspiration of the misery-stricken people of Afghanistan. They act completely against what they undertook in Geneva. The capital city and the innocent and defenseless people of country are coming under waves of attacks with destructive missiles and continuous explosions as a result of the arming and training of opposition bands in Pakistan. Attacks are being carried out against our civilian plans with Stinger and Blowpipe missiles. A

flood of weapons and ammunition from the territory of Pakistan is flowing into our country and artificial obstacles have been created on the path of Afghan refugees in their return home.

We have put at the forefront of our government's duties the search for seeking peaceful methods and contacts with hostile groups for the purpose of urgently ending the fratricidal war. We have chosen this as the highest aspiration of our life. Regretfully, however, it must be said that a number of opposition groups so far have replied to all these applications only by firing missiles and organizing explosions in crowded cities. We sincerely hope that the new leadership of Pakistan, observing the will of its people, will end the continuation of interference in the internal affairs of our country and will not allow its territory to be used for training and arming professional terrorists and for exporting them to our country to continue the massacre and further destruction of our people.

Esteemed journalists, I know that you came here to ask your questions. On behalf of the government and people of Afghanistan, allow me to request that you convey to the world public, and particularly to our annoyed brethren, our wishes and applications for the restoration of peace and reconciliation in our country.

With utmost desire, the state and Government of Afghanistan are prepared to hold talks, at any place and at any suitable time, with the seven alliance leaders and with other Afghan personalities so as to become useful for the restoration and securing of a durable peace. We are ready to make the necessary concessions for the solution of problems, otherwise the responsibility for the shedding of the blood of innocent Afghan people by Afghans, with foreign encouragement and weapons, will rest on them. The people of Afghanistan will have the right to issue their final judgment at this crucial historic period. Thank you for listening to me. Now I am ready to answer your questions.

[Question] You stated that you will talk anywhere with the leaders of the Alliance of Seven. However, at the same time you said that Pakistan is violating the Geneva accords. Are these accords not to the liking of Pakistan? The second part of my question: What can your government do to stop the Pakistani interference?

[Sharq] In reply to your first question I must state that the Government of Afghanistan is ready to meet the representatives of the Seven, and any leaders and prominent personalities who are inside or outside the country, to discuss with them matters concerning Afghanistan, to talk with them about the international and internal situations and the Geneva accords. We have unilaterally signed the Geneva accords. The Government of Pakistan signed them along with us. If Pakistan saw any defects in them, then undoubtedly they would not have signed

them. We will make every effort, as a good neighbor of Pakistan and a Muslim country, to draw their attention to the fact that what they have signed, they should implement.

[Question] TASS correspondent: What do you say about Pakistan's allegations that Afghan aircraft have bombed the territory of Pakistan?

[Sharq] We categorically reject this allegation because we have no interest in a war with Pakistan. All we hope is to find a way to persuade Pakistan, as a good neighbor, to implement the Geneva agreements. Yesterday, the Afghan Air Force commander, speaking at a news conference in Kabul, rejected this groundless allegation by Pakistan. I tell you sincerely that we want good-neighborly relations with Pakistan, and we have no interest in being hostile against that country. These are pretexts used by Pakistan so as not to implement the Geneva accords.

[Question] DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent: The Soviet Union has published the number of their troop losses in Afghanistan. Could you tell us the number of Afghan troops killed and wounded? The second part of my question: What is the total number of civilians and military men killed? The third part of my question: What is the number of Afghan refugees in foreign countries?

[Sharq] In reply to your first question. You said that the Soviet Union has given the number of its troops killed. The number of troops killed in Afghanistan, regrettably, is so far unknown. However, I should add, with great sorrow, that the number of innocent people killed in our country is very large. The number of Afghan refugees has been given as various figures—sometimes a small number and at other times a large number. You know that the situation has not allowed us to obtain full statistics.

[Question] FINANCIAL TIMES: What will be the amount of Soviet assistance to Afghanistan during the coming years? Which projects effective in the revival of Afghanistan are being financed by the Soviet Union?

[Sharq] Today we signed a long-term agreement with our Soviet friends up to the year 2000. The precise amount you can learn from the planning minister, who is present here. What I can tell you is that to whatever extent we wanted to carry out work, and asked our Soviet friends to help us, they agreed.

[Question] You said that 160,000 refugees have returned home. Can you please tell us what facilities have been provided for them by the Returnees Affairs Ministry, and will the government be able to cope with all those who are ready to return home under the national reconciliation process?

[Sharq] You know that the Returnees Affairs Ministry was recently established. You also know that the financial situation in our country is such that we cannot fully meet

the help needed by returnees. So far we have succeeded in transporting returnees from the border to their place of residence, and to provide them with food and clothing for 6 months. We have provided basic educational needs for all returnees, and work for all those who had lost their jobs. We have done this so far. Fortunately, realizing the fact that the return of refugees to Afghanistan is not a simple task, the UN office has formed a new department, headed by Prince Agha Khan, who came to Afghanistan some time ago. He has prepared the ground for attracting international assistance. Fortunately, the [word indistinct] of the Soviet Union informed us that it will extend a considerable amount of aid, through Prince Agha Khan, to the people of Afghanistan.

'Joint Announcement' Issued

PM2209161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Sep 88 First Edition p 1, 5

[Unattributed "Soviet-Afghan Joint Announcement on the Official Friendly Visit to the USSR by M.H. Sharq, Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan"]

[Text] Afghan Prime Minister M.H. Sharq paid an official friendly visit to the USSR 18-22 September. During his stay in Moscow M.H. Sharq was received by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev. There were talks with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Taking part in them on the Soviet side were E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; Yu.P. Khomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; and N.G. Yegorychev, USSR ambassador to Afghanistan. Taking part in the talks on the Afghan side were S.'A. Amin, deputy prime minister; S. Husayn, minister of planning; M.K. Jalalar, minister of commerce; M.A. Zaher, minister for reconstruction and rural development; A.G. Farrahi, minister for returnees' affairs; N. Pazhwak, minister without portfolio; and M. Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR.

During the visit N.I. Ryzhkov and M.H. Sharq signed a long-term program of economic, technical, and trade cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan for the period up to the year 2000. USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations K.F. Katushev and Afghan Minister of Planning S. Husayn also signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation in carrying out priority work specified by this program.

A protocol on the training of Afghan citizens at Soviet higher and secondary specialized educational establishments in 1989-1993 was signed by G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, and N. Pazhwak, Afghan minister without portfolio.

The important Afghan guests laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

During his stay in the USSR M.H. Sharq visited Dushanbe and Leningrad as well as Moscow.

The prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan and those accompanying him were given a warm reception, which is a vivid manifestation of the close ties between the Soviet and Afghan Governments and between the Soviet and Afghan peoples.

The following statement was made on the results of the Soviet-Afghan conversations and talks.

I.

The traditional relations of friendship between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan are developing in the interests of both countries' peoples. They are being built in line with the principles of equality, mutual respect, mutual advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs. As they grow deeper and broader, these relations are reaching big new horizons of cooperation and collaboration. The 7 April 1988 Soviet-Afghan statement, published after the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Najibullah in Tashkent gave powerful new impetus to the further advancement of Soviet-Afghan relations.

II.

In the political sphere Soviet-Afghan relations have a sound base: It is the mutual desire to achieve a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's absolute support for the Afghan leadership's course toward a peaceful solution of intra-Afghan problems through the achievement of national accord, a mutual commitment to strengthening international peace and security, and a common approach to ways of safeguarding them. The Soviet side expressed its resolve to continue giving the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan effective help and assistance in order to preserve and confirm the Republic of Afghanistan as a territorially integral, independent, sovereign, non-aligned, and neutral state.

III.

In the economic sphere there is the experience accumulated over decades of close, multifaceted ties and they are expanding in every way and in every direction. The continued development of economic cooperation is predetermined by the sides' mutual commitment to dynamically enriching it with new mutually advantageous forms and content, to the speediest revival and boosting of the Afghan national economy which has been undermined by the war, and to the improvement of the Afghan people's living standard.

IV.

The sides affirmed their fully coinciding assessments of the importance of the signing of the Geneva agreements. These agreements not only brought qualitative changes to the Afghan situation and moved its development onto the positive track of ending the bloodshed, but also became an important event in international life as a whole from the viewpoint of asserting in it the principles of the new political thinking and in terms of finding peaceful ways to settle other acute and complex regional conflicts. The effect of the Geneva diplomatic process can be felt in the Persian Gulf and southern Africa, in Nicaragua and Cambodia. The signing of the Geneva agreements mobilized the peace-making activeness of states and peoples involved in regional conflicts and created new opportunities for making even more effective use of the United Nations' potential in the solution of acute questions of international politics.

V.

The USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan are punctiliously, honestly, and irreproachably fulfilling all their obligations under the Geneva agreements. The withdrawal of half of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan was completed precisely within the time limit set by the Geneva agreements—on 15 August 1988. The Soviet and Afghan sides are scrupulously observing also all the other provisions of the Geneva package of accords.

VI.

At the same time, concern cannot fail to be caused by the unlawful activity of Pakistan which, from the very first day that the Geneva agreements came into force, has been systematically violating them by continuing to make its territory available as a base for the extremist Afghan opposition which is counting on overthrowing the legitimate Afghan Government by force, for supplying it on a massive scale with the latest weapons and ammunition, and for waging psychological war against the Republic of Afghanistan. Contrary to the Geneva agreements, the Pakistani authorities are using all means to obstruct the return of Afghan refugees to their home areas and are creating obstacles hindering the normal operation of the UN monitoring mechanism.

VII.

The Soviet and Afghan sides continue to proceed from the need for strict observance of the Geneva agreements by all parties to them. They believe that Pakistan's obstructionist policy imparts instability to the balance of interests which underlies the Geneva accords and jeopardizes the implementation of the package of compromise solutions achieved in Geneva for the sake of a peaceful settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan still hope

that not all opportunities have been exhausted for exerting the necessary influence on Pakistan to ensure that the new Pakistani leadership realizes in full the responsibility it bears and draws the necessary practical conclusions. They expect that appropriate efforts will be made by the United States as guarantor of the Geneva agreements and by all states and public forces interested in the establishment of peace on Afghan soil.

At the same time, the situation whereby Pakistan believes itself entitled to ignore the Geneva agreements while the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan strictly adhere to their provisions cannot continue ad infinitum, and in such an event the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take agreed measures dictated by the situation as it develops [soglasovannye mery, kotoryye budut diktovatsya skladvyayushcheysoy obstanovkoy].

VIII.

It is the sides' profound conviction that the progress of the implementation of the course of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, despite all the difficulties and stumbling blocks, offers irrefutable proof that the only sensible way, with no alternative, to end the bloodshed on Afghan soil is the attainment of national accord on the basis of broad intra-Afghan dialogue, compromises, mutual consideration for the interests of opposing forces, political pluralism, and good will. In this context especially positive importance attaches to the activity of the present Afghan Government which tangibly demonstrates the possibility of Afghanistan's truly patriotic and national forces, regardless of their political views, collaborating for the sake of their people's prosperity and progress.

The continuing democratization of the structures of the people's government and organs of power at central and local level meets with approval from all strata of the Afghan people and offers broad opportunities for involving representatives of the opposition in the work to implement the policy of national reconciliation.

The Soviet side highly appraised the tireless and courageous efforts by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and by political forces within the country aimed at implementing the policy of national reconciliation. The Afghan side welcomed with satisfaction the resolute support for this policy expressed by the Soviet side and highly values the Soviet Union's principled stance that the solution of internal Afghan problems is a matter only for the Afghans themselves.

IX.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the discussion on specific questions of Soviet-Afghan trade and economic cooperation and the progress in fulfilling existing agreements on questions of the provision of assistance by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan in the economic, technical, and social

spheres. They believe that the accords reached during the conversations and talks in Moscow regarding the continuation of this assistance, including on a nonrepayable basis, and its priority avenues, will give new impetus to its further development.

Forms of Soviet-Afghan economic ties are being renewed with regard to the requirements of the situation prevailing in Afghanistan in the process of national reconciliation, and Afghan national private capital is being more and more actively involved in this process. It was noted with satisfaction that economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan in creating projects with the participation of the Afghan private sector is being filled with specific content, and trade turnover between Afghan private entrepreneurs, traders, and industrialists and Soviet organizations is increasing. The creation of joint enterprises has become a new example of the cooperation between the sides and the utilization of the two countries' potential and reserves. The role of direct ties, in which Afghanistan's provinces and cities and the Soviet Union's republics, oblasts, and cities are participating, is growing.

With the continuing accent on the implementation of projects for the economic development of Afghanistan designed to play a leading role in the national economy and reflected in the Long-Term Program for Soviet-Afghan Economic, Technical, and Trade Cooperation Through the Year 2000 signed 20 September this year, the construction of medium-sized and small projects—including in the sphere of agriculture, irrigation, and the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods—assumes great importance.

Soviet-Afghan trade is developing on a stable basis and its forms are being improved.

X.

The problem of providing for returning Afghan refugees in order to ensure that they join in peaceful creative labor as fully fledged Afghan citizens occupies an important place in Soviet-Afghan cooperation. The Soviet Union is providing extensive assistance in resolving this most important problem for Afghanistan both on the basis of bilateral ties and by means of contributing to the UN-administered program for economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.

XI.

Soviet-Afghan cooperation in the sphere of science, culture, and national education continues to expand. It has now been supplemented by yet another important sphere—space exploration. As a result of the recent successful Soviet-Afghan spaceflight, Afghanistan has entered the ranks of states with their own cosmonauts. This flight was yet another step along the road of

strengthening Soviet-Afghan friendship and cooperation, and promoted the growth of Afghanistan's international prestige. The results of the research done have been a major achievement in the comprehensive study of Afghanistan's natural resources with a view to the country's long-term socioeconomic development.

Scientific cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan is long-term in nature. A science park in Kabul, designed to be a modern center for scientific research work by Afghan scientists, will be built with Soviet aid within the context of increasing scientific exchanges.

XII.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are continuing to implement the broadest cooperation in the world arena. It covers not only the Afghan problem, but also the broad range of global issues of the day. The USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan advocate the continuation and further strengthening of close cooperation at international forums and in international organizations with a view to actively promoting universal peace and cooperation, the establishment of political dialogue, the internationalization of efforts in the field of disarmament and arms limitation—first and foremost, nuclear arms limitation—and the strengthening of international security.

The talks that have been held have convincingly demonstrated both states' desire and readiness to continue to develop and strengthen their cooperation and collaboration in international affairs.

XIII.

Both sides, noting the fruitfulness and practical effectiveness of the talks, expressed complete confidence that they would make a worthy contribution to the strengthening and expansion of Soviet-Afghan friendship and all-around cooperation.

Paper Comments on Israeli Satellite Launch
PM2209145788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "First Israeli Satellite"]

[Text] On Monday Israel launched Horizon-1, its first artificial earth satellite. According to news agency reports, the launch is experimental—the satellite weighing 156 kg, put into orbit by an Israeli Shavit carrier rocket, will function only for approximately 1 month and will then burn up.

According to NASA, Israel has become the ninth state capable of launching satellites, along with the United States, the USSR, China, France, Britain, Japan, India, and Italy.

The launch is presented in Israel as a very important event attesting to the country's high technological potential. However, criticism is also being leveled at the authorities in connection with the fact that the space program could be a heavy burden on the national economy, which is already withstanding with difficulty the excessive military spending.

The satellite's official purpose is to ensure communications. However, many experts believe that Israel's real aim is to provide itself with spy satellites to gather intelligence information on Arab countries. In this connection mention is also made of Tel Aviv's active involvement in the U.S. plans for the militarization of space. Therefore, the appearance of an Israeli satellite in orbit has created serious concern among neighboring states. Voicing these feelings, the Bahrain newspaper AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, which is popular in the Near East, called the launch "a new challenge to the Arab world" and urged Arab countries to implement their own space program as quickly as possible.

Moscow Analyzes Trend in Iran-Iraq Peace Talks
NC2009134688 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1800 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Dimitriy Volskiy commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: The Iranian and Iraqi delegations which had embarked on talks, under UN supervision, aimed at resolving differences and the Iran-Iraq conflict, have returned to their respective countries. Please pay attention to a commentary by Dimitriy Volskiy, (?political) commentator of the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA:

Let us discuss what results have been achieved from the Geneva talks, which lasted 20 days. AFP has stated that these talks did not make any mark. This assertion is true, but no one expected the talks to yield immediate results. Even Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said that it would have been a source of amazement had results been achieved. Despite all these allegations, however, the talks were not entirely without results. For example, the sides were able to gain a better perspective of one another's stances. In addition, the atmosphere at the talks also underwent a change. If, according to political observers, a frigid atmosphere prevailed at the initial sessions, this atmosphere has now become more earnest and (?cordial). The most important development is that the talks have not ended, but will continue.

On his arrival in Iran, 'Ali Akbar Velayati commented in this regard and expressed optimism that, with the increased efforts of the United Nations and UN Security Council member countries, a greater possibility exists that there will be positive results. It appears that the sides have agreed to meet in New York at the end of this month during the UN General Assembly session. It also appears that they have concurred (?at least) on the date

on which the second round of talks will commence. It is now expected that the talks will resume some time during the first 10 days of October.

Of course, it is clear that this will not be an easy task. There is a very long list of issues that Iran and Iraq have to deal with themselves. The two most difficult of these, as UN Security Council Resolution 598 predicts, are the exchange of POW's and the withdrawal of armed forces to the internationally recognized borders. As political observers point out, the greatest obstacle on the path of the talks is the demarcation of the borders along the Shatt al-'Arab waterway. Iraq is now saying that the whole river belongs to it, even though Iranian as well as Iraqi vessels previously had used the waterway. In fact, it appears that the Geneva talks are taking the form of a business transaction. Each side has a strong (?claim). For example, Iran has the greater number of POW's while Iraq has more of the occupied territory. In addition, both sides have some historical claims as to the demarcation of the border along the Shatt al-'Arab waterway.

Historians are presenting arguments based on (?agreements) dating as far back as the 16th century. We could bypass historical claims and disagreements but, in my opinion, one must also bear in mind that Iran was under imperialist domination and affiliated with other nations in the past. Iraq also was a part of the Ottoman empire, which followed similar objectives. Neither country had any connection with the wishes and desires of their rulers and overlords nor with their boundless avarice for ruling over other nations. Does it make any sense now to refer to the imperial eras, which have been relegated to oblivion? Since that time revolutions have taken place in both Iraq and Iran that have ended the tyranny and despotism of the imperial regimes. Both countries follow an anti-imperialist policy. Will the sacrifice of nearly 1 million persons for a minor difference pertaining to a small segment of territory be in proportion to the interests of the two countries? Is it necessary for nations to suffer from immense destruction and devastation and to endure horrible tribulations? This war also was unbearable because it was fought between followers of the same religion. [passage omitted]

The representatives of Iran and Iraq are no longer fighting and are now (?discussing) relevant issues around the conference table. We wish to be optimistic that a mutually acceptable solution will be (?attained) eventually. We believe that at this point we can avail of the experiences of the 1974 [as heard] Algiers Agreement. This accord, which was not imposed on the people of Iran and Iraq by imperialist countries, takes the interests of both countries into consideration. There is no doubt that the Shatt al-'Arab is necessary for Iraq as that country's sole outlet to the Persian Gulf. However, it also is necessary for Iran—a country whose coast borders this major waterway and which has huge oil ports such as Abadan and Khorramshahr.

The (?time) that has been lost cannot be regained, especially when both the sides have hurt one another's sensibilities, and when the question of the lives and (?property) of tens of millions of people in both countries must definitely (?be considered). This issue is related to the differences on the Shatt al-'Arab and other issues that Iran and Iraq still have to resolve. We hope saner counsels will prevail that will not permit the trend of normalization of the two countries' relations to deviate from the path.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentator Views Quadripartite Talks on Namibia
PM2209125788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[Aleksandr Serbin "Viewpoint": "Rounds and Hopes"]

[Text] The fifth round of the quadripartite talks on a peace settlement in Southwest Africa [Yugo-Zapad Afriki] has ended in Brazzaville. A sixth round is planned. It will probably take place next week. The talks' participants—the United States, South Africa, Angola, and Cuba—rate the results of the Brazzaville stage as positive on the whole.

The talks have been going on since early May. The aim is to bring peace to this region of Africa, something people have not known here for many long years. It was broken by the South African aggression against Angola, the rebellious actions of the mercenary, anti-Angolan National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) grouping, and Pretoria's efforts to maintain supremacy over Namibia by force of arms in the struggle with the liberation movement headed by the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The meetings have also examined questions relating to the withdrawal from Angolan territory of Cuban troops who are there at the invitation of the legitimate Government of Angola, which, for 13 years, was forced to repel South African aggression and defend itself against its other subversive actions.

The talks have their own peculiarities: Angola and Cuba are acting as a single participant, while the United States, according to the official version, is performing the role of intermediary. I would point out, though, that the transatlantic power can hardly be regarded as a pure intermediary: The United States is certainly not neutral in the conflict in Southwest Africa [Yugo-Zapad Afriki]. It is deeply involved in it as a result of its policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime and direct military aid to UNITA.

The sides' positive assessment of the results of the fifth round is warranted: The participants stated that by 1 September, as previously established, South African interventionist forces had been withdrawn from Angola. It was confirmed that the process of a Namibian settlement on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution

435 is to start on 1 November. This resolution, envisaging the granting of independence to Namibia by means of free elections under UN supervision, was adopted exactly 10 years ago, in September 1978, but was not implemented because of opposition from South Africa and its Western allies. Finally, a cease-fire came to the region, which, of course, creates an atmosphere for the achievement of the final accords.

But for all this it should be noted that the participants had different assessments of the course of the talks. The South African representative, with an optimism that was clearly intentional, announced the achievement of "considerable progress." The Cuban representative, for his part, observed that the talks were "difficult, complex, and slow."

What does this mean? Let us look at a pronouncement by the New York paper *NEWSDAY*, which wrote, after the fifth round, that South Africa is "happy to conclude regional peace agreements and thereby soften notions about it in the international community. But it usually ignores the agreements its signs in order to preserve its regional supremacy and its domestic policy of apartheid." Therefore, the Angolan-Cuban side is definitely right when, in difficult talks, it seeks firm guarantees of Angolan security. Indeed, the 13-year war has resulted in 60,000 of its people dead and damage in excess of \$12 billion. Angola has an equally serious commitment to genuine independence for Namibia, which is now Pretoria's military bridgehead.

And it is highly pertinent to emphasize at this point that the United States is even now saying that it intends to continue giving military aid to UNITA, which, alone among the active elements in the region, refused to cease fire. As for Namibian independence, South Africa has its own ideas, intending, in particular, to keep the Namibian port of Walvis Bay, which it has already "annexed."

Certainly, a Southwest African [Yugo-Zapad Afriki] settlement could have been embarked on before, but, as we know, the UN plan on Namibia has been gathering dust on the shelf for an entire decade. But the United States and South Africa are now displaying haste; they appear to be in a hurry to solve these problems. One can agree with *NEWSDAY* when it detects a desire on the part of the U.S. Administration to strengthen the Republican Party's positions at the upcoming presidential election by claiming a Southwest African [Yugo-Zapadnaya Afrika] settlement as its own achievement. Clearly, Pretoria too wants to back the Republicans—after all, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate is in favor of economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. The sanctions bill is already being considered by Congress and neither Pretoria nor the White House would like it to be adopted.

Of course, peace in Southwest Africa [Yugo-Zapad Afriki] and Namibian independence must come as soon as possible. But I believe the agreement on the settlement

of these important problems must have a strong and reliable foundation and take into account the sides' interests and not be based on narrow political considerations. There is hope that events will take this course.

East Europe

Solomentsev Visits Romanian Institute, Combine
PM2209134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Warm Meeting on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] Pitesti, 21 Sep—Today the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee delegation headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, which is in Romania at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee, visited Pitesti, the administrative center of Arges Judet.

The Soviet guests were warmly welcomed at the Judet RCP Committee where the leaders of the party organization and the party collegium briefed them on how the Communists and the working people are resolving Judet's socioeconomic development plan tasks.

During the conversation, M.S. Solomentsev devoted much attention to questions of restructuring, democratization of all aspects of Soviet society, reform of the political system, and profound transformations in the economy. The need to further strengthen and expand mutually advantageous cooperation in the economy, science, and culture and to deepen ties between the CPSU and the RCP, the Soviet Union and socialist Romania, and the Soviet and Romanian peoples was noted. A thorough exchange of views took place on the forms and methods of party control organs' work, reinforcement of party discipline, and prevention of violations of discipline by party members.

The delegation visited a horticultural research institute which is working successfully to improve apple, pear, plum, and other fruit varieties grown in this part of the republic.

In the afternoon the Soviet guests acquainted themselves with the work of a furniture combine. Most of its output is exported to the FRG, France, Italy, Belgium, and a number of other countries. Some 30 percent of the combine's annual exports go to the Soviet Union. This year the combine will dispatch more than 8,000 sets of furniture to our country. Talks are under way about joint design work on new models of furniture and production in cooperation with the Krasnodar Furniture Combine.

The delegation visited a china factory at Curtea de Arges.

RSFSR's Orlov, Delegation on Visit to CSSR
PM2209141388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] An RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by V.P. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Prague 21 September at the invitation of the Czech National Council.

The delegation was seen off by T.G. Ivanova, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

P. Kubasek, CSSR charge d'affaires in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

The delegation visited the Czechoslovak capital the same day. The Soviet guests were met at Prague Airport by J. Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, and other officials. V.P. Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to the CSSR, was among the welcoming party.

J. Kempny received the RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation that afternoon. During a friendly talk he stressed that its visit is being held at a time when an extensive program of restructuring and the deepening of socialist democracy is being implemented in the CSSR and when there is increasing interest among Czechoslovak society in the concrete restructuring steps in the Soviet Union and the experience of the work of soviets and public organizations in the USSR.

The participants in the talks expressed the common opinion that the establishment of direct ties between the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Czech National Council will promote the further deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

SFRY Presidency on Escalation of Nationalism
PM2209140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Agency Report"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep—There has been a further deterioration in the country's domestic political situation, in particular, an escalation of nationalism. Measures to stabilize the political and economic situation are proving less and less effective. These assessments are highlighted in a TANJUG report on a session of the SFRY Presidency.

The situation that has developed has jeopardized society's unity and broadened the scope for antisocialist forces' activities. Working people, expressing concern for the fate of the country, are coming out in defense of the gains of the revolution and resolutely demanding an

end to the negative processes in society, the report on the session of the Presidency states. The report points out that a mobilization of all society's socialist forces, and above all the working class, is necessary to resolve vital tasks in stabilizing the domestic situation and reinforcing Yugoslavia's international position and prestige.

The SFRY Presidency, the report says, expects full support from the working people and the country's peoples and ethnic groups for the cause of the resolute implementation of the nationwide program to overcome the political and economic crisis on a democratic basis.

Labor Conflicts in Hungarian Plants Examined
PM2209132588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
20 Sep 88 p 3

[Own correspondent N. Yugov report: "Two Conflicts"]

[Text] Budapest—Two recent labor conflicts have attracted public attention in Hungary. One of them occurred at a Budapest optics plant, a branch of the Hungarian optical goods combine. Under the leadership of its young, energetic director, L. Toth, the plant collective had begun modernization work in order to be able to manufacture more modern products. Naturally, under these conditions output fell. This was not to the liking of the combine leadership, and the director was removed from his post. However, the labor collective did not agree with this decision and demanded that their old leader be returned to the enterprise. And when this demand was refused they stopped work. Having thoroughly examined the case, the Hungarian Ministry of Industry decided that the workers' demand was fair and reinstated the director.

Another conflict took place at a coal enterprise in the city of Mecsek. It was caused by a breach of labor legislation: Long-service bonuses were not paid in full and wage rates had been reduced. After talks were held, which concluded in the labor collective's favor, work at the mine was resumed after a 1-day break.

"Both cases," the Hungarian trade union newspaper NEPSZAVA wrote, "show that the main cause of labor conflicts, as a rule, is that enterprise leaders act in breach of labor legislation and ignore workers' opinions and interests...."

Warsaw Correspondent on Polish Situation
LD2209135888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Correspondent Vasily Lesovik report from Warsaw]

[Text] It would perhaps be difficult now to find anyone in Poland who would be more or less indifferent to what is happening in the country. Strikes in August and the government's resignation in September have had the effect of raising the temperature among the public. As always in such a situation, opinions differ: we have our radicals and

our liberals, as the saying goes. As was noted in the decision of the last, somewhat noisy, session of the Sejm, the difficulties and weaknesses of the Polish economy are related on the one hand to the huge foreign debts and the obsolete economic structure which does not correspond to modern demands, and on the other hand to the half-measures taken to transform that structure.

Very soon, on 27 September, there will be a plenary session of the Polish Sejm. This will confirm the new chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers; he will form a new government cabinet. The cabinet will assume power under difficult conditions. As Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, stressed the other day at a meeting with party activists in Warsaw, Poland is going through a period of exacerbated political struggle. The deterioration of the economic situation, the danger of a perceptible lowering of the living standard, and the increasing lack of confidence in the effectiveness of reform which is connected with that are aggravating the sociopolitical situation.

Until recently it was in some strata of Polish society, especially among the intelligentsia, virtually the fashion and considered very smart to proclaim one's negative attitude toward the authorities and toward all the programs of the country's leadership. Now the situation is changing. Many are now coming to realize that deeds rather than a mere pose must be the position of each and everyone. As the famous sociologist, Professor Rajkiewicz, commented in this connection, the authorities alone cannot implement the targeted program for the country's rebirth; it is the task of a national coalition comprising many strata. Furthermore, the current conflicts and mutual distrust will lead to self-destruction.

In this regard, the roundtable to be held in mid-October has aroused unusual interest in the country. This is to be a dialogue between all interested forces in the country, including the opposition, on the problems of achieving national concord and deepening democratic changes.

Briefs

Hungarian Ratification Instrument

Moscow September 15 TASS—An instrument of ratification by the Hungarian People's Republic of a protocol on the struggle against illegal acts of violence at international civil aviation airports signed in Montreal on February 24, 1988, which is a supplement to the convention on combating illegal acts directed against the security of civil aviation of September 23, 1971, has been left with the Soviet Government for keeping. [Text] [LD1609025788 Moscow TASS in English 0739 GMT 15 Sep 88]

West Europe

Shevardnadze Activities in Denmark Detailed

PM2209140088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 21 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who was in Denmark on an official visit, was received by Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to the Danish head of state good wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, A.A. Gromyko, and the other Soviet leaders. Satisfaction was expressed at the favorable development of Soviet-Danish relations, and the Soviet side reaffirmed its desire to improve ties in all spheres in the interests of the peoples of the two states.

It was noted that the ancient traditions of peaceful, good-neighborly relations between our countries, which have grown up over 5 centuries, form a unique basis for the steady widening and strengthening of cooperation. It is particularly valuable that the Soviet Union and Denmark have also remained true to these traditions in the most recent period of history. And this has a significance that goes beyond bilateral ties. An experience of peaceful coexistence, mutually advantageous cooperation, and mutual spiritual attraction that is very rare in European history deserves to become the property of the European peoples and other peoples.

Danish Foreign Minister U. Ellemann-Jensen took part in the talk.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a meeting with S. Jakobsen, speaker of the Danish Folketing, in which representatives of the leadership of all the parties represented in parliament took part.

The talk took the form of a free, open exchange of opinions on questions of restructuring in the USSR, the main international problems, and the state of and prospects for Soviet-Danish relations.

In the philosophical and conceptual plane, questions of the interrelationship between foreign and domestic policy and the role of the two countries' highest legislative bodies in shaping the course of the USSR and Denmark in international affairs were discussed.

In this connection questions of interparliamentary ties and contacts were touched on. E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized, in particular, the Soviet side's commitment to establishing collaboration with the parliaments of the Nordic countries in such spheres as security in the north

and in the Arctic, environmental conservation, the coordination of scientific research, and the study of questions of economic cooperation in the region.

Addressing S. Jakobsen as a prominent figure in the Danish Social Democratic Party, E.A. Shevardnadze noted the great significance that people in the Soviet Union attach to the development of ties with social democratic parties, including the Social Democratic Party of Denmark.

On the same day the talks between the foreign ministers continued and were completed. They were multifaceted and intensive in nature, and were marked by profound, mutual interest in the quest for understanding and a move toward collaboration in resolving the common human problems of the modern world.

In the context of the study of European affairs, the conversation was focused on the ideas and proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk, as well as the concept of the common European home and questions of the further development of the Helsinki process in all its dimensions—military-political, humanitarian, economic, and ecological.

The situation at the Vienna meeting of CSCE countries was analyzed. A consensus emerged to the effect that all the necessary preconditions now exist for the speedy completion of this meeting with weighty and balanced results. That would make it possible in the near future to begin talks on reducing troops and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals and to resume the work of the all-European conference on confidence-building measures and military detente in Europe.

That is not the only forum where Europeans could discuss the continent's security problems. In this context E.A. Shevardnadze drew attention to the Jaruzelski and Jakes plans, the GDR's initiatives on creating a zone free from chemical weapons, and Hungary's proposals and the efforts of Bulgaria and Romania on developing cooperation in the Balkans.

A significant place at the talks was devoted to the idea of ensuring comprehensive security, and to its basic component, disarmament.

Assessing highly the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and noting its successful implementation, the ministers came out in favor of quickly completing the drafting of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and finding a mutually acceptable solution with regard to preserving the ABM Treaty regime.

Satisfaction was expressed over the progress at Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear tests.

There was a detailed examination of the problem of concluding a convention banning chemical weapons, including practical questions of the prevention of the production of such weapons in the chemical industry, the procedure for destroying stockpiles of chemical weapons and enterprises for their production, and the procedure for carrying out inspections on demand.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions of comparing the military-political blocs' military doctrines and on the concept of military sufficiency and the strengthening of stability and confidence in the sphere of security. In this connection E.A. Shevardnadze noted that the Soviet Union has taken note of the work taking place in sociopolitical and scientific circles in a number of Western countries, including Denmark, on developing the concept of nonaggressive defense, elements of which could be used in order to agree on relevant decisions at forthcoming talks within the framework of the CSCE process. The ministers agreed on the expediency of setting up contacts between representatives of the military commands of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to discuss this whole range of problems in the interests of mutual trust.

The Soviet side expressed the view that reliable security for European states cannot be ensured on the basis of a selective approach to the various components that determine the correlation of the sides' forces. Specifically, naval forces and naval arms are at issue. U. Ellemann-Jensen, while setting forth NATO's familiar position on these matters, at the same time came out in favor of a resumption of military contacts between Denmark and the USSR, including exchanges of visits by warships.

In the course of the examination of the economic aspect of cooperation among European countries, the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC was assessed positively and the hope was expressed that this step will be backed up by the development of bilateral ties between the CEMA countries and the EC Commission.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew attention to the importance of these agreements from the viewpoint of the prospects of overcoming the split in Europe.

After discussing all aspects of the human dimension of the CSCE process, the ministers came out in favor of holding corresponding forums in the forthcoming years in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow.

In the course of the exchange of opinions on ways of settling regional conflicts, it was noted that the sides' positions coincide as regards the need to seek the resolution of these problems by political means, with the active use of UN mechanisms.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized the seriousness of the situation that is emerging in the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. While the USSR

and the Republic of Afghanistan scrupulously observe their commitments, Pakistan and the countries that back it are basically not only doing nothing to stop the interference, as the Geneva agreements demand, but are shamelessly encouraging the continuation of the bloodshed, and do not hesitate to assist terrorism against the peaceful Afghan population.

The Soviet Union would like to warn of the very serious consequences for the world in general and the resolution of regional problems in particular arising from such irresponsible, cynical behavior, which constitutes a defiance of the world community.

The USSR and Danish foreign ministers defined priorities for the further development of Soviet-Danish political dialogue. They include:

- questions of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe, including the North European region;
- the banning and elimination of chemical weapons;
- the settlement of regional conflicts.

E.A. Shevardnadze and U. Ellemann-Jensen examined a number of questions of Soviet-Danish cooperation in the economic and cultural spheres. It was noted that the conditions now exist to make it possible to move more boldly toward new forms of ties, including production sharing and the setting up of joint enterprises.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed an invitation to U. Ellemann-Jensen to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

At the invitation of the leadership of the Borsen Club, E.A. Shevardnadze addressed leading Danish politicians, parliamentarians, representatives of business and financial circles, and journalists.

He said, in particular:

"Our stay in Denmark ends with a speech in your club. I regard this as a happy ending for a visit that was short in duration, but extremely full in content."

He reaffirmed that both sides value their cooperation and the new atmosphere in that cooperation. They are prepared to constructively develop mutually useful dialogue.

We are grateful to Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II for the audience granted to us and the kind words about the Soviet people and our country.

I would also like to express deep satisfaction with the talks with my colleague Mr Ellemann-Jensen and the conversation with Mr Jakobsen, speaker of the Folketing, at which representatives of all the parliamentary parties were present.

Visits, meetings, talks—that is politics. And the first requirement in politics is to understand your partner, know his interests and positions, and perceive the motives for his behavior and actions.

Otherwise it is impossible to find a balance of interests, establish mutual understanding, and develop cooperation.

As M.S. Gorbachev has stressed repeatedly, the balance of interests is the basis on which interstate relations should be built in the modern world. In the new political thinking, the balance of interests is one of the most important concepts.

The balance of interests can only be determined in the dialectical combination of objectivity with regard to the partner, self-criticism with regard to oneself, realism in assessing reality, and understanding of the course of the historical process.

I think we will find the key to resolving many complex fundamental problems if we can gain clarity in our views of the correlation of national or class interests and common human interests, of the priority and the uniting role of common human values.

The concepts "mine," "theirs," and "ours" are today undergoing surprising transformations in every sphere—be it security, human rights, or material prosperity.

Armed conflicts and wars have always sprung up where the concepts "mine" and "theirs" meet. The concept "ours" may have been proclaimed, but it only very rarely found a place in practical politics.

Now that an interconnected, interdependent world is taking shape, the recognition of the primacy of "ours" is the pivot of the balance of interests. Without this combination, the problem of mankind's survival cannot be resolved.

In just the same way, the material and spiritual qualities of the life of an individual person, an individual group, or an individual country cannot be durable if they are in opposition to or far removed from the general standard, and if that general standard is not improving.

I am talking about the system of priorities formulated in the context of our restructuring. The principles of our party's 27th congress and the 19th all-union party conference on this score were inspired by Lenin's idea that "from the viewpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development rank above the interests of the proletariat."

The state of our world, the realities of the nuclear and space age, and the dangers of disaster as a result of the unrestrained arms race, the world polarization of wealth and poverty, or ecological collapse dictate the need to revise the accustomed stereotypes.

We have begun to do so. The Soviet leadership has drawn up a program for renewing its domestic and foreign policy. Its orientation:

- the country's emergence in the front line in the economy and technology, in positions appropriate to its potential and status;
- the implementation of the principle of "more socialism," in the context of which the individual is the end, not the means of social development.

Here we are guided by the following principles:

- peace is the supreme asset, and all our moral, political, and ideological concepts should reflect that;
- peaceful coexistence is the universal principle of interstate relations governed exclusively by political means;
- while political and economic rivalry are not excluded, peaceful coexistence is not a form of class struggle;
- dialogue, not confrontation, cooperation, not opposition—these are the urgent demands of the modern era, offering a chance for civilization's salvation;

- democratization of international relations, doing away with the division of the world into big and small, strong and weak; equality for all—these are the necessary prerequisites of universal security;
- freedom of choice, excluding the use of force to export a particular sociopolitical model, is a key component of the new political thinking.

In essence all our foreign policy ideas and actions of the last 3 years are based on this code of priorities.

They are no mere declarations. Our conceptual schemes, large-scale programs, and concrete proposals are based on them:

- the plan for the elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction;
- the idea of comprehensive international security;
- measures to prevent the transfer of the arms race into space and develop peaceful international space cooperation;
- the policy of eliminating foreign military bases and renouncing the stationing of troops outside national territories;
- the principle of respect for the antinuclear status and national legislation of states in any movements of nuclear arms;
- proposals on reducing, limiting, and regulating states' military activity on the seas and oceans.

Much has already been done in this respect.

E.A. Shevardnadze then dwelt on the European aspect of disarmament and security. He said that the reality that determines the situation here is the confrontation of the two military-political alliances. This is a rather strange legacy of World War II, in which the configuration of alliances was different.

No doubt there is no point in going into history now and examining how this came about and why. The fact is that history gave us this version of development of our continent. It is divided, and the two groupings cautiously observe each other's actions and react sensitively to them.

Caution, distrust, and suspicion are mutual. Unfortunately many people on the opposite side have either absorbed the idea, or else pretend that the "threat" can only come from the East, not from the West.

Believe me, we could say a great deal about that. There are too many of our soldiers' graves in the region from the Atlantic to the Urals for us to forget the origin of the terrible troubles that came to us.

All the same, we believe that there is only one reasonable path ahead for Europe—the lessening of military confrontation, the strengthening of trust, and the safeguarding of security by increasingly nonmilitary means.

The Soviet Union is prepared to follow this path and talk about: establishing the principle of sufficiency and nonaggressive defense; giving military doctrines a defensive thrust; eliminating imbalances and asymmetries; implementing measures to preclude a surprise attack; making deep cuts in the numbers of troops and armaments; and increasing trust by means of changes in the structure and deployment of armed forces.

We are also prepared to talk about all other aspects of the situation and the correlation of forces that cause concern to the other side, and to find mutually acceptable solutions.

And it will be only fair if the NATO countries also show readiness to discuss and resolve questions that worry us: on forward-based systems, naval arms, and confidence measures at sea.

You have a saying: Stand on a beer barrel and you'll see the sea. The sea is indeed visible everywhere in Denmark. But it is hard to believe that you will not also see warships, aircraft carriers, submarines, carrier-borne aircraft—everything that today makes up the vast and impressive arsenal of naval arms.

Almost exactly a year ago, speaking in the northern port city of Murmansk, M.S. Gorbachev came out in favor of a radical reduction in the scale of military activity in the north in general—in both the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee supported the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to give practical support to this by acting as guarantor of such a zone.

We also proposed that consultations begin between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on a range of concrete measures to reduce the military activity of naval and air forces in the northern sea areas.

At the same time the Soviet Union came out in favor of developing peaceful cooperation in the exploitation of the resources of the north and the Arctic and in environmental cooperation in the region.

The time that has elapsed since Murmansk has only confirmed the topicality of the problems raised there and the need to resolve them.

We understand that Denmark follows the common NATO position on this question. We do not criticize it for that.

We would like to appeal from here to all the NATO countries to embark on substantive discussions. If NATO is not ready to make a start on the military aspects, it would be possible to talk about cooperation in ecology and in Arctic research. We will respond to any proposals by the Nordic countries or the NATO states.

Understandably, I am talking here about the problems of European security and cooperation in northern Europe. But equally we are willing and we propose to discuss the problems of southern Europe and the ecology of the Mediterranean and other regions.

The other day, as you know, M.S. Gorbachev put forward a program of measures to strengthen security in the Asian and Pacific region and develop cooperation between states belonging to that region.

The restructuring under way in our country embraces both our internal affairs and the foreign policy sphere.

Sometimes we hear people say: We need deeds, not words. But do we say anything else? Have there been no deeds? Have not the past 3 years revealed the Soviet leadership's determination to combine words and deeds? Let me remind you of the idea expressed by M.S. Gorbachev during his recent visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray: In a huge country like ours, a great task cannot be completed in a hurry.

It all takes time—the radical restructuring of the political system, the creation of a mechanism of constitutional powers for the adoption of the most important decisions, the building of a rule-of-law state where the law has unconditional supremacy, radical economic reform.

We are not postponing anything until tomorrow, we are beginning—we have begun—today. The position of the individual in the state is changing, and changing—it is no exaggeration to say—rapidly; human rights and the range of civil liberties are widening and strengthening.

Anyone who calls into question the possibility of true pluralism of opinion and democratic freedoms in a socialist state looks rather ridiculous. Why, for instance, is democracy compatible with a monarchy, but not with socialism?

In the course of our radical economic reform, the established attitude to cooperation with foreign capital is also being revised.

Restructuring is an invitation to develop a new system of coordinates in economic relations between the Soviet Union and other countries, Denmark included, of course.

In speaking of the possibilities for reviving our trade and economic relations, I have in mind not only their traditional aspect—what we call foreign trade. We also have in view new avenues, including joint undertakings and joint participation in major international and regional cooperation projects.

The Soviet Union has an interest in cooperation with Denmark not only in the agro-industrial field, where your country is an acknowledged leader. We know of your achievements in electronics, chemicals, instrument making, bioengineering, medicine, and other spheres. Possibilities are taking shape for involving the Danes in furnishing the Kola cement and aluminum complex with equipment.

Let me say that we would like to create joint enterprises and production units with you not only on the basis of Danish technologies, but also on the basis of Soviet scientific and technical developments.

It cannot but lead to satisfaction that Soviet-Danish cooperation is moving into space. The launch of unique Danish instruments by the Soviet "Granat" space device is planned for November. The time has come to set Soviet-Danish contacts in motion in the sphere of culture, art, and sports. We would like to see exchanges between the two countries' public organizations and scientists gathering speed.

The history of our interstate relations is not only 5 centuries without armed confrontation. It is first and foremost a colossal potential of intelligence, good will, trust, mutual understanding, and collaboration, which mankind so badly needs today.

Realizing that potential in present-day Soviet-Danish relations means, in our view, making a worthy joint contribution to strengthening the entire range of international relations and strengthening our European community.

E.A. Shevardnadze also answered questions from those present.

On the same day E.A. Shevardnadze and his wife left Copenhagen for Washington. They were seen off at the airport by Danish Foreign Minister U. Ellemann-Jensen and his wife and other officials. The sendoff party included R.A. Thorning-Petersen, Danish ambassador to the USSR, and B.N. Pastukhov, USSR ambassador to Denmark.

France Plans No End to Mururoa Nuclear Tests
*LD2109195388 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT
21 Sep 88*

[Text] Paris September 21 TASS—France does not intend to discontinue its nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll in the South Pacific.

This conclusion can be drawn from a statement made by Louis le Penec, French minister for the overseas departments and territories, during a press conference held in Papeete, the administrative centre of the French Polynesia, on the results of a week-long official visit to the French overseas territory in the eastern Pacific.

In answer to journalists' questions, he rejected the possibility of ending the operation of the French nuclear centre at Mururoa, pointing out that this question "is not on the agenda now."

Louis le Penec specially emphasized that nuclear tests would be continued because they "are within the framework of great national ambitions and constitute the backbone of independent defence based on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence."

The minister reaffirmed France's special interest in the south Pacific region, and state French intentions "to broaden goodneighborly relations" with the countries of the region which, as is known, have taken quite a negative view of French nuclear tests in the area.

NOVOSTI Commentary Views Mock Visit
*AU1909093988 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German
17 Sep 88 p 2*

[Guest commentary by NOVOSTI reporter Vladimir Kudryashov: "The Skepticism Does Not Retreat"]

[Text] I would say that the most important result of Foreign Minister Mock's visit to the USSR is the repeatedly stressed striving of both sides to make actual contributions to realizing the idea of the "all-European home." Austria is an independent, peace-loving state, which enjoys a high reputation in the Soviet Union, and the fact that Vice Chancellor Mock clearly expressed his support for realizing this concept has certainly consolidated trust in Europe.

Moscow shares Alois Mock's position, according to which an improvement in the relations between East and West can make the policy of neutrality of some states even more important and effective. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union considers neutrality an important factor of peace and stability, and expressed the hope that the role of the neutral European countries will continue to increase in the development of the European process.

At the same time, the persistence with which the Austrian foreign minister discussed Austria's possible accession to the EC was striking. However, Alois Mock's arguments have not eliminated the reserved scepticism of his Soviet partners—among them the scientists of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he gave a lecture.

They asked him: Will Austria be able to preserve its independence and neutrality within the EC, where the tendency toward an integration of foreign policy, including in the military sphere, is emerging more and more clearly?

I think that both the Austrian and the Soviet sides have benefited from getting acquainted with the attitude of the other government.

The mutual relations between the USSR and Austria are rich and varied. The stable and steadily developing relations and contacts are a guarantee that Alois Mock's first visit to the Soviet Union will become a milestone in their expansion and in the activation of the all-European process.

Political & Social

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

Situation Causes 'Anxiety'

NC2309073788 *Baku International Service in Azeri*
1200 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpt] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is an autonomous oblast in the Azerbaijan SSR, has been aggravated during the past few days. Strikes have been staged in industrial establishments and lessons have been halted in the schools. Ethnic clashes have taken place. Meanwhile, measures have been implemented to guarantee the security of the citizens and to safeguard law and order.

Dear listeners, let us recall that (?many) [words indistinct] and strikes have taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh during (?the current year). The CPSU leadership, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have been focusing attention on Nagorno-Karabakh's problems. A plan which aims to spur the pace of the autonomous oblast's economic and social development has already been put into effect. An additional R500 million have been allocated from the state budget for that purpose. Attention has been focused on the need to meet the ethnic and cultural demands of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The work which is being carried out in that regard is being directed on-the-spot by the committee that has been set up by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Furthermore, this committee is supervising the work which is being carried out.

The renewal of the leadership cadres of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Parties has been very important for normalizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. They are putting measures into effect aimed at removing negative developments, consolidating law and order, and broadening democracy and openness. However, time is required to resolve all the accumulated problems.

Nevertheless, the process of improving the existing situation does not please those who are engaged in (?parasitism) and robbery. Fearing that they may be exposed, these elements are trying to distract the people from participating in the work carried out to improve life in Nagorno-Karabakh by urging them to focus their attention on ethnic relations. Actually, they are provoking ethnic passions between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. These elements are responsible for provoking the present disturbances and mass clashes. [sentence indistinct] These elements are responsible for the wounding of 25 people in these clashes.

(?The individuals) who have been trying to increase tension in interethnic relations have been condemned by the party committee and the soviet of people's deputies in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The situation which has been created has caused anxiety in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR, as well as in the entire Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

ARMENPRES Reviews Events

NC2309101088 *Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian* 1215 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which was exacerbated after incidents took place between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, continues to remain tense. Even though measures have been implemented to prevent interethnic incidents, the night of September 20 witnessed various disorderly acts, including attacks on private homes and the igniting of automobile fires.

In (?some) areas, the sound of gunshots were heard. However, there were no victims. All of these incidents have created a critical atmosphere, and many of the residents in Stepanakert and in rural areas are concerned for their safety.

Factories, construction organizations, and transport and student establishments in Stepanakert are not operating.

Party and soviet bodies, in unison with the public organizations, are calling for the return of order in the economic field and the return to normalcy of the situation in NKAO and in its neighboring regions.

A.I. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, attended a radio and television news conference which focused on the situation prevailing in the NKAO. He stated: The party and government have adopted a series of important decisions concerning the NKAO's development as well as the speedy solution to the problems that have accumulated here. However, the people apparently do not favor these.

The situation in the oblast has exacerbated greatly over the past few days. Strikes started in production units, in construction organizations, and in public transportation, and classes were not held in the schools. Unauthorized rallies and marches were held. An attack on the region's prosecutor was instigated. Offensive attacks on the state bodies were allowed. Incidents harming the dignity of the forces which ensure public order and of the soldiers and officers of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have taken place.

In view of the situation, a special status and curfew was established in Stepanakert and in the region of Agdam on September 21. All possible measures are being taken to ensure the people's safety and security and to establish order, as well as to strictly employ socialist law.

Armenian Leaders Meet 21 Sep

NC2309112788 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Sep (ARMENPRES)—A meeting was held 21 September at the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, attended by the first secretaries of gorkoms and obkoms, chairmen of Central Committee departments, judicial bodies of the republic, and heads of the mass media.

It was pointed out that the recent incidents have greatly exacerbated the situation and that a very explosive situation has been created. Unauthorized rallies, demonstrations, and marches, which are harming the public's orderly economic activities, have taken place in Yerevan. The stoppage of work at the educational establishments are leading to unfavorable situations, and marked difficulties are being faced in the capital's daily life. These unjust acts understandably enrage the alert and healthy forces, who truly think of the people's destiny.

It was stressed that the workers' collectives, party committees, and public organizations should be mobilized in the republic to help to overcome the situation. It was stated that it is the duty of the Communists and of all the people, as their duty to their people and to the country, to ensure a prompt normalization of the situation that has been created.

The workers of the republic demand that an end be put to the disorders, that law be strictly carried out, and that state and public order be defended.

It was accepted that many of the participants in the rallies and in the street marches are (?well-informed) about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and that various provocations and fabrications are being spread. In view of this, it is proposed that the mass media display more [word indistinct] and objectiveness when reporting on the incidents that are taking place.

M.S. Arutyunayn, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Also participating in the meeting was V.A. Kondratyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee administration.

'Vigilance, Self-Control' Urged

LD2209174788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] In the past few days, alarming reports have been coming in from Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. Here is what has been reported today by our special correspondents in Yerevan, Leonid Lazarevich and Kurum Kumaryan:

It has been about 2 months since I was last in Armenia. At that time, just before leaving, I sent a report that the republic's life was returning to normal. And now, 2 months later, I have witnessed a new flare-up of tension, a new flare-up of emotions.

As we were told today in the city party committee, of the city's 228 industrial enterprises 58 are now at a total standstill and 48 are only partially operating. Out of a total of over 120,000 workers, about 80,000 people did not turn up for the start of the first shift. Pickets were blocking motor-transport enterprises. The city's public transportation system was paralyzed, and those blue- and white-collar workers who wished to get to work on time were unable to do so because they were forced to travel on foot 10-12 km or more.

The situation is again strained to the limit and this is no exaggeration. The situation which has arisen in the republic is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Therefore, an additional contingent of law enforcement forces has been brought into Yerevan. There are many militiamen on the streets. There are armored transport vehicles near certain institutions.

This was preceded by rumors, which gained intensity in the city, that the funds allocated to improve the social and economic conditions in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are not always being spent as intended, and that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is becoming more complicated day by day. These rumors snowballed with all possible sorts of fantasies and this has led to the current tense situation.

In the past few days, meetings have been taking place continuously. At them one can hear, frankly, both inciting and nationalistic statements. A routine meeting is now in progress at Opera Square. I am convinced that there are forces in the republic that have an interest in such flare-ups of tension. Among those who I saw in the square in front of the Opera Theater there were quite a few young people. Their character and principles have not yet been formed. And this cannot but arouse concern.

Yes, representatives of our intelligentsia speak about this with pain and alarm. Both yesterday and today there have been and there still are continuing appearances on republican television by our most prestigious scientific, cultural, and educational figures. Those assembled were warned today about the possible consequences of what

was happening by representatives of the city soviet and of the republican Internal Affairs Ministry. Serious concern over the situation can also be seen in the appeal from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR. This appeal says, in part: In the name of the future of the Armenian people, we call for the display of vigilance, self-control, and self-restraint, to be aware of the great danger that our people might be faced with if passions continue to heat up further and if emotions take control of us.

I think that many people in our republic will give thought to the words of the appeal: We appeal to you to stop and think, not to turn yourselves into the plaything of blind forces, to remember that all of us together and each of us individually are responsible not only for the future of our children, for the fate of our people, but also for our common home, for the whole country, for the fate of revolutionary restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. And at this anxious time, may you not be abandoned by wisdom and common sense.

An appeal has been published from the bureau of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast party committee and the Executive Committee of the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast to communists and to all working people. Addressing the population of the oblast, it says, we urge that self-restraint and soberness be maintained, that civic maturity and patience be displayed, that no matter what the circumstances there will be no succumbing to provocations. It is the civic duty of each of us to return the oblast to a normal rhythm of life and work.

At the microphone is Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Vasilyev, a foreman at the Kiev relay and automation works.

[Vasilyev] All Soviet people are worried about such discord within the harmonious family of our peoples. But we do not believe that it is the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan that are quarreling. It is dark forces that are sowing animosity between them, people who do not like restructuring and who fear it, and these people use democratization and glasnost in a criminal manner in order to whip up animosity between the nations.

I and all of my comrades at work believe that these people must be unmasked and made accountable with the full force of the law. They are violating our Constitution and undermining our social structure and the country's economy. Stepanakert's enterprises are once again letting down their business partners. During the events that took place before, our works failed to receive many needed components; this undermined production and affected the earnings of the workers.

Leaders' Appeal Published

PM2209172988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Sep Morning Edition p 2

[Undated "Appeal by the Nagorno-Karabakh Party Obkom Bureau and the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet Ispolkom to the Communists and All the Working People of the Oblast"]

[Text] On 18 September the situation in our oblast exacerbated sharply: As a result of mass disorders provoked by certain irresponsible persons, undesirable and regrettable events occurred as a result of which there were casualties. Material damage was caused. The law enforcement organs took steps to curtail the mass disorders. The USSR Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation.

The party obkom and the oblispolkom express profound sympathy to those affected and regret over what happened, and they resolutely condemn all those committing antistate, antisocial, and illegal acts.

We appeal to the oblast's population, calling on it to maintain restraint and sobriety, to show civic maturity and tolerance, and under no circumstances to yield to provocation.

We appeal to your reason. All the emerging questions and problems must be resolved in a framework of legality. The events of recent days have developed according to a scenario written by provocateurs trying to destabilize the situation and whip up tension, by people whose purpose is to discredit restructuring and democracy and to push us from the true path.

Today, as the oblast confronts tasks of tremendous importance whose resolution depends on the consciousness of each one of us, we do not have the right to yield to emotions. The notorious "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" formula will lead us into an impasse from which there is no way out.

For the sake of sparing our mothers' tears, we appeal to you to be vigilant and to give a worthy rebuff to those who would lead us down the wrong path.

In the prevailing circumstances, all manner of rallies, demonstrations, processions, and gatherings could worsen the situation still further. Because of this the party obkom and the oblispolkom consider the holding of such measures to be intolerable at the present time.

Dear people of Karabakh! We believe in your high reason, your steadfastness and wisdom. We call on you yet again to show calm and prudence. It is the civic duty of every one of us to return the oblast to a normal living and working rhythm.

[Signed] The Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom bureau and the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet Ispolkom

Television Carries Report

LD2209232488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 22 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report with special correspondent S. Vetoshkin]

[Text] Following the July sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, the situation in Armenia quickly began to change for the better. By stretching their work schedules, many enterprises compensated to a considerable extent for the losses caused by the strikes. But now there has been another explosion of emotions, a new aggravation of the situation, fraught with the most severe repercussions. For several days now, unsanctioned rallies and marches, sit-ins, and hunger strikes have been taking place in the republic's capital. As in past months, the main events are unfolding here in Yerevan's Opera Square. [video shows group of at least 100 people in part of Opera Square, holding placards—inscriptions not shown; three people participating in a sit-in beneath posters written in Armenian]

What is it that brings the people of Yerevan to these thousands-strong rallies? Naturally, they are concerned about their brothers in Nagorno-Karabakh, but they also want to find out the latest news from Stepanakert. Activists from the so-called Karabakh committee have once again seized the initiative here: In place of true information, they are flooding the city with rumors and dramatizing the already difficult state of affairs in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. On the crest of this speculation, on the crest of inflamed passions, appeals have arisen which have nothing to do with the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. Certain speakers are making categorical demands for an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet to be convened, threatening all possible consequences, up to and including armed action, if no session is held. [video shows hostile reactions to camera as it roams among the crowd; some of those filmed try to cover the lens with their hand]

Given the intensity of the situation, law and order forces were sent into Yerevan today. In the 16 rayons of the republic with mixed populations, similar measures were taken even earlier to prevent any possible excesses. [video shows an armored personnel carrier; two militiamen standing beside it; another two armored personnel carriers blocking a street]

How are the working people of Yerevan reacting to all this? Much more calmly than in previous months of unrest. People are tired of the disorder, tired of the constant inflammation of passions. The healthy forces in the republic, of course, are actively countering the inflaming of nationalist passions. The poet Silva Kaputikyan, USSR People's Artist (Hzor Sarkisyan), and other members of the intelligentsia who hold authority among the people have appealed to their compatriots to be prudent, and today the Central Committee of the

Armenian Communist Party, the republic's Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers have published in the newspapers an ardent address to the republic's Communists and working people: [video shows Vetoshkin reading from KOMMUNIST] In the name of the future of the Armenian people, we urge you to display vigilance, self-possession, and restraint, and to realize the great danger with which our people may be confronted if passions continue to flare and if emotions prevail over us. It is true to say that people learn by their mistakes and peoples by their tragedies. The latter, however, are very costly.

Troops, Militia Active 22 Sep

PM2309114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "On the Situation Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] A certain normalization of the situation in the city of Stepanakert and some adjacent populated areas took place following the introduction of a special status and curfew in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) and Agdam district of the Azerbaijan SSR in accordance with the powers granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Agencies for the protection of public order are taking measures to ensure safety and constitutional rights of citizens. Curfew violators have been detained, and firearms and knives [kholodnoye oruzhiye] have been seized.

Industrial enterprises, building organizations, and transport and educational establishments of Stepanakert did not function on 22 September.

In view of the arisen tension in the Armenian SSR, the tension brought about by the actions of the leaders of the so-called "Karabakh" committee, which had been dissolved by the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR called on the Communists and working people of the republic to show high civic consciousness, restraint, and responsibility; to be worthy of the patriotic and internationalist traditions of the Armenian people; not to turn themselves into a plaything of blind forces; and to bear in mind that all of us together are responsible not only for the future of our children and the destiny of our people, but also of our common home—the entire country—and for the destiny of revolutionary restructuring, democracy, and glasnost.

However, in Yerevan and some other cities of Armenia the striving of power bodies and party organizations to take the strain off the situation through methods of persuasion has not found a proper response so far.

On 21 and 22 September individual irresponsible elements began to put forward anti-constitutional demands to the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Armenia SSR and to call for organizing stoppages, meetings, and hunger strikes. A number of enterprises in Yerevan, Leninakan, Abovyan, and Charentsavan, as well as the Echmiadzin District, were brought to a standstill on 22 September. The municipal transport services were disrupted.

Additional measures are being taken to maintain public order and to put a stop to criminal actions. Troop units, along with militia bodies, took part in these measures in Yerevan on 22 September.

Necessary work to maintain order and to ensure the observance of socialist legality is being carried out in the Azerbaijan SSR, particularly in areas of joint residence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Party and local government bodies of the NKAO, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, taking into account the people's anxiety and demands, are doing everything necessary to prevent an escalation of tension and to restore the normal rhythm of working activity and social life.

850,000 Protest in Yerevan

AU2209193288 *Paris AFP in English 1923 GMT*
22 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Sept 22 (AFP)—Some 850,000 people demonstrated in the Armenian capital late Thursday, calling on the republic's parliament to meet urgently to discuss the situation in the troubled autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, a local source said.

A journalist with the Armenian news agency ARMEN-PRES, reached in Yerevan by telephone from Moscow, said the protesters had vowed to stay in the capital's central Opera Square until their demands were met.

Old women and school children had joined the peaceful protest.

Soviet troops who were deployed earlier in Yerevan as a general strike got under way had not made an appearance in the square, the Armenian journalist said.

The demonstrators were also calling for the government of Azerbaijan to end measures against Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, where a curfew was imposed Wednesday after one person died and 48 were injured in three days of inter-ethnic violence.

The protesters claimed Armenians were being hounded from their homes, particularly in the enclave's second largest town, Shusha. [passage omitted]

Armenian MVD Issues Statement

NC2309085088 [Editorial Report] Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0200 GMT on 23 September reports on a statement issued by the Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The statement refers to the recent "interethnic incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast" that have greatly "exacerbated the situation in the republic." The statement adds that "public transportation in Yerevan has stopped, which is preventing a large segment of the workers" from attending their jobs. Strikes and rallies attended by "thousands of people" continue and the "effective operation by the militia in ensuring public order" is being prevented. "An explosively dangerous situation has been created in the capital and in other cities, and the life and well-being of all the population" are being threatened.

The statement goes on to say that the stoppage in the capital's public transportation sector is "harming not only the rhythm of work," but also other public services such as hospitals, kindergartens, and schools. Continuing, the statement says that "during the recent rallies in Yerevan" calls were made for strikes, and "irresponsible appeals" concerning "the constitutional rights of deputies" and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet were heard. The republic's security forces, whose responsibility is to ensure order, will, "if the situation deteriorates," have to "resort to decisive measures." Under the present conditions, the Ministry of Internal Affairs calls on all the people to avoid "provocateurs" and to "return to normal rhythm of work" in the important organizations and in educational establishments.

No Results From 'Persuasion'

NC2309060988 *Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian*
0425 GMT 23 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] On its first page, the newspaper carries a TASS report stating that industrial enterprises, building organizations, and transport and educational establishments in Stepanakert did not function on 22 September. In Yerevan and in some other cities in the Armenian SSR the efforts by state bodies and party organizations to take the strain off the situation through methods of persuasion have not, as yet, yielded results.

Editorial on 'Dangerous Calls'

NC2309061488 *Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian*
0425 GMT 23 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] In an editorial on the possible grave consequences of the situation, the newspaper points out that strikes and the work stoppage are continuing in Yerevan and in some other cities and regions of the republic. Rallies, at which irresponsible and politically dangerous calls to resort to dangerous acts are being heard, also continue.

At this difficult juncture, it is the duty of each and every person in the republic to display utmost sagacity, self-restraint, and civic responsibility.

Academy of Sciences Meeting

NC2309062488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0425 GMT 23 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] A meeting attended by directors of coordination institutes, secretaries of various organizations, and chairmen of (?production) committees was held at the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences. The conferees discussed the recent incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and studied ways to improve the difficult situation created in the republic as a result of the incidents.

The newspaper carries an ARMENPRES report on the meeting.

The speakers unanimously agreed that the strikes are harming the republic, are detrimental to the interests of the workers, and are marring the good name of the Armenian people.

President's Speech Cited

NC2309080388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0600 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] A meeting held at the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences was attended by directors of coordination institutes, secretaries of various (?regional party) organizations, and chairmen of (?production) committees. The conferees discussed the recent incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and studied ways to improve the difficult situation created in the republic as a result of the incidents. It was pointed out that the demand by the workers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to join the Armenian republic continues to be an important topic. However, for a final solution of the issue to be reached it is necessary to fully ensure the implementation of the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July 1988, to accelerate the oblast's socioeconomic development, to (?revive) the historic-cultural fields, and to expand and consolidate the [word indistinct] ties with Armenia.

The participants expressed the view that [word indistinct] recently trends have emerged in the Karabakh movement. Anti-Russian and anti-Soviet calls, as well as irresponsible statements, are being heard at rallies, spreading mistrust as far as the future is concerned and harming our people's historic [word indistinct] and interests.

The Academy of Scientists and the republic's scientists cannot remain indifferent toward the future of the people in these destiny-making days. They are responsible as

far as the people's fate is concerned, and therefore should resort to decisive measures in order to prevent (?irresponsible acts) and disorderly behavior (?that harm the people).

The speakers unanimously pointed out that the strikes are seriously harming the republic, are detrimental to the workers' interests, and are marring the Armenian people's good name.

(?At one point) the speakers pointed out that the mass media is occasionally responsible for provoking the people's feelings by failing to report (?on incidents in a timely way) and [words indistinct] for the dissemination of news.

Viktor Ambartsumyan, president of the republic's Academy of Sciences, pointed out in his speech that the strikes are harming the interests of the Armenian people and the republic. There are means by which the people can make the leadership hear their voices—newspapers, television, and radio. These means should express the people's (?feelings) and make [words indistinct] possible. Only by [words indistinct] can the republic be (?brought out of the) [words indistinct].

MVD Statement Published

NC2309070088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0425 GMT 23 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] On its third page, the newspaper has published statements by the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Health.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic appeals to all the population to display common sense, to avoid provocateurs, and to reestablish the normal rhythm in the important organizations and educational establishments. Because of the situation in the capital's streets, problems have arisen with regard to the residents' public transportation.

'No Tanks' in Yerevan

LD2309091088 Hamburg DPA in German 0811 GMT
23 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, (DPA)—In the dispute over the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region the Soviet Republic of Armenia intends to adopt a wait-and-see policy for the time being. A spokesman of the Armenian Foreign Ministry in Yerevan told DPA on the telephone today that they will wait first for a special session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Republic of Armenia. He said the situation in Yerevan is unchanged.

According to the spokesman, the demand for an extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Soviet was repeated at a rally in the center of Yerevan yesterday evening. "A large number" of deputies of this body told the crowd that

they had already applied for a meeting through official channels. According to them, the Armenian parliament should address a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet for a "positive decision." At the end of July the highest Soviet state body rejected the demand for Nagorno-Karabakh to be joined with Armenia and reaffirmed its attachment to Azerbaijan.

The spokesman said that "armored vehicles and tracked vehicles, but no tanks" have taken positions in the streets of the city. He confirmed that some people are calling for a referendum on Armenia's secession from the USSR. The rally did not accept any such proposal, however.

The Armenian civil rights activist Sergey Grigoryants said in Moscow that the rally, which he said was attended by some 200,000 people, was calm and not obstructed by the authorities. He said that six people were now on hunger strikes in Yerevan's Opera Square after five students had shot and wounded a member of the banned Nagorno-Karabakh committee. There is an "oppressive number" of troops in the Armenian capital. [passage omitted]

Agreement on 'Special Session'

AU2309110488 Paris AFP in English 1047 GMT
23 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Sept 23 (AFP)—Government authorities and protest organizers in the Armenian capital of Yerevan have taken steps to avoid clashes between troops and protesters in the city, sources there said Friday.

Ashot Manucharyan, a member of the Karabakh committee which has coordinated strikes and demonstrations in Yerevan and in the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, said authorities had agreed to meet protesters' demands for a special session of the local parliament.

Reached by telephone, Mr. Manucharyan said that protests and sit-ins in Yerevan were continuing but that there had been no clashes between demonstrators and Soviet troops who were deployed in the city on Thursday. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Stepanakert—the main town in Nagorno-Karabakh—remained paralyzed Friday by a general strike as protesters shouted "Return to Armenia" from their balconies, Mr. Manucharyan said.

The town was placed under a partial curfew on Wednesday following a series of violent interethnic clashes between Christian Armenians and Moslem Azeris.

According to official reports, one Armenian was killed in the violence and an additional 48 people, mostly Armenians, injured.

UK Daily Reviews 'Crisis'

PM2309111388 London DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 23 Sep 88 p 1, 40

[Xan Smiley dispatch: "Kremlin Sends Tanks to Yerevan"]

[Text] Moscow—Tanks and armoured cars poured into the Armenian capital, Yerevan, at dawn yesterday amid growing signs that the Kremlin's patience with Armenia's swelling nationalist movement has snapped.

But Mr Gorbachev is facing a new constitutional crisis because the legally-required minimum number of deputies in the Armenian Supreme Soviet, the southern republic's highest body, is now said to be calling for an immediate special session of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, the arbiter of boundary changes demanded by the Armenians.

That means that a substantial part even of the official Armenian political establishment—about 150 of the 340 Supreme Soviet deputies, most of them top Communists—is opposing the Kremlin, which is reluctant to transfer the disputed Karabakh area to Armenia for fear of provoking nationalist demands across the Soviet Union.

Mr Davit Vardanyan, a leading member of the unofficial Karabakh committee, the 11-man group which has become the voice of Armenian nationalism, told the DAILY TELEGRAPH last night:

"If the Constitution is violated and no Supreme Soviet session is held, then at its next ordinary session the people should call for complete independence from the Soviet Union".

This would be a dramatic raising of the stakes.

The Soviet authorities admitted that casualties in the disputed Karabakh region since the weekend have risen to 49, with one person dead, and the area's capital, Stepanakert, is still apparently paralysed by a general strike. So far there have been no reports of shooting or casualties, in Yerevan, but a leading nationalist told the DAILY TELEGRAPH by telephone: "We are expecting clashes at any moment."

Members of the Karabakh committee, speaking last night in Yerevan's Opera Square, appealed to a crowd estimated at 500,000 not to be provoked. Lenin Square, where thousands of people sat down on Wednesday as a token of support for the strikes now gripping the city, was sealed off and surrounded by tanks and armoured cars which dispersed protesters.

Mr Gorbachev, who has inflamed Armenian passions by resolutely refusing to transfer the Karabakh region with its ethnic Armenian majority from Azerbaijan to Armenia, has yet to address the Soviet people on television.

But a "special status," amounting to emergency rule, was imposed on Wednesday night on Karabakh and the adjoining Agdam district of Azerbaijan. This did not mean martial law, a Soviet spokesman said yesterday in Moscow, but included a ban on strikes, and demonstrations and a curfew from 9 pm to 6 am.

Armenian nationalists say there has been an exodus of the Azerbaijani minority from Stepanakert.

Action Against Inciters Urged

PM2309131188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from A. Stepanov, worker at the Pskov Automatic Telephone Exchange Plant, under the "Readers' Opinion" rubric: "It Concerns Us Too"]

[Text] Pskov—Events in Armenia and Azerbaijan have an impact not only on the people involved in them or next door, but also on many, many other people who live a long way away from these areas.

For instance, the Pskov Automatic Telephone Exchange Plant, where I work, receives capacitors from an enterprise in the Armenian city of Kamo. As of April capacitor deliveries have not been fulfilled. In April, May, and July we failed to receive 14,000, 17,000, and 91,000 respectively [figures as published]. In August the situation was seemingly set to rights. But in September we only received the first consignment of articles after 20 September. This has resulted in, for instance, our assembly shop being more than 1 month behind schedule. There are no stocks in store to tide us over. Our suppliers are ransacking the country looking for capacitors, which as a result cost a "pretty penny." Naturally we cannot provide a smooth supply of our output and in turn we are letting down our clients.

I don't understand why workers and party organizations don't stop those who are inciting people to bad work and who are impeding restructuring. It is time to use authority!

Azerbaijan Archbishop Marks Orthodox Millennium
LD2209224288 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] [Placename indistinct] September 22 TASS—Celebrations on the occasion of the millennium of the baptism of Russia began in Azerbaijan, a Soviet Republic in Transcaucasia, with a divine liturgy at the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Mother of God.

Archbishop Antony of Stavropol and Baku addressed those present at the ceremony here today. He pointed out that the celebration of the millennium of Russian Orthodoxy gave a new impulse to the peacemaking activities of the church and its participation in the lofty movement for disarmament and survival of mankind.

The Christian ideals of peace and justice, he told a TASS correspondent, call for stronger friendship, brotherhood and better understanding among peoples. The duty of the church is to contribute as much as it can to this good work and to the preservation of the sacred gift of life.

Archbishop Antony emphasized special importance of active participation of believers in wholesome processes of perestroika, in renewal of all spheres of life of Soviet society and in the strengthening of the economic might of the sacred motherland and spiritual betterment of people.

The leaders of the Stavropol diocese and the Baku deanery were received in the Council of Ministers of Azerbaijan.

Politburo Examines Issues, Relations 22 Sep

LD2209195188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 22 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

At a session held on 22 September, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee heard a report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on his visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray. Comrade Gorbachev's meetings and conversations with the working people of the kray took place in an atmosphere of frankness, and showed that they fully support the party's course toward deepening restructuring and making it irreversible. At the same time, it was noted that local initiative is still developing slowly. Attitudes of dependence are strong, and insufficient attention is being paid to people's needs and requirements. Discussion of these matters and of ways of solving them has helped to strengthen the work of the central and local party organizations and of the local soviet bodies and labor collectives in the practical implementation of accelerated economic and social development of Krasnoyarsk Kray. The Politburo instructed the Communists, the heads of the central economic departments and ministries, and the party and local soviet bodies of the kray to study the concrete issues of the economic and social development of Krasnoyarsk Kray so that they may, with a minimum of delay, considerably accelerate housing construction and the development of the material base of the social and cultural sphere; improve the supply of basic food products to the population; improve the environment; and achieve a rational use of fuel, energy, timber, and other natural resources.

It was especially emphasized that the party and local soviet bodies and leading cadres of the kray must radically alter their attitude toward the everyday needs of the population; they must ensure that the demands of the working people are examined in a timely fashion and satisfied with the utmost speed.

There was serious criticism by the Politburo of the work of ministries and departments and local economic bodies in the integrated development of the economy of the kray, particularly in the social sphere, and in carrying out radical economic reform. This was impeding the progress of productive forces in Eastern Siberia.

The party and economic bodies were instructed to draw up and carry out the necessary measures to enhance substantially the efficiency of production.

It was noted at the session that the positions on international issues expounded in Krasnoyarsk and the new proposals directed towards strengthening peace, mutual security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region represent a consistent development of the Vladivostok initiatives in the spirit of the new thinking.

The Politburo examined the draft, "Concept of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Period Up to the Year 2005," submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers in accordance with the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It was noted that the Concept, drawn up with the broad participation of many scientific research institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, institutes serving particular industries, and specialists of various spheres of the national economy, was meant to shape the initial political and economic platform which will serve as the basis for the orientations for economic and social development for the next 15 years and the 13th 5-Year Plan. This platform, taking into account the guidelines set by the 19th all-union party conference, must concretize the party's socioeconomic strategy as drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress. It must determine the main targets which the country must achieve by the year 2005 and at particular stages in the upcoming period.

On the basis of a comparative analysis of the alternatives submitted by the government, the Politburo of the Central Committee noted in particular that in implementing social policy we ought to start from the premise of the need for a maximal concentration of resources on solving such priority tasks as ensuring the population's food supply; providing it with industrial goods, services, and housing; developing public health and education; improving working conditions; and protecting the environment. This will make it possible to bring into operation to a greater degree the organizational, economic, and social reserves for improving and intensifying production.

An important feature of the draft concept is the examination of several versions of the implementation of the party's economic strategy, which differ as to the pace and means of accomplishing concrete tasks of the country's social and economic development. In all versions, high demands are made on raising the efficiency of the economy and the intensification of production; this is to be achieved by accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The further improvement of the management of the socialist economy and the development of the labor and social activity of the Soviet people are envisaged on the basis of the transformations in the political sphere that are being implemented in accordance with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. While in the main approving the draft concept, the Politburo deemed it desirable to continue work on the document with due consideration being given to the remarks voiced during the discussion, and then to submit it for consideration by a routine plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Politburo examined and approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation and Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko's talks with Vo Chi Cong, member of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. It was noted that the official friendly visit by Vo Chi Cong to the Soviet Union was an important step aimed at further deepening Soviet-Vietnamese relations, strengthening friendship and cooperation between the USSR and SRV, and increasing coordinated action between the two countries in the international arena in the struggle for peace, security, and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

The session discussed and approved the results of Comrade Gorbachev's meeting and Comrade Ryzhkov's talks with Prime Minister Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan. Resolute support was reaffirmed for the efforts of the Afghan leadership, headed by President Najibullah, geared to the achievement of national reconciliation, the formation of a broad coalition, and bringing Afghanistan into the mainstream of international life. The need for the conscientious observance of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan and the United States was stressed. The desire of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan to further develop and deepen their traditional friendly, equitable relations of mutual interest was noted with satisfaction.

The results of Comrade Gromyko's conversation and Comrade Ryzhkov's talks with Prime Minister Holkeri of Finland during his unofficial visit to the USSR were approved. The fresh Soviet-Finnish high-level meeting confirmed the desire of both sides for further strengthening the potential of mutual understanding, trust, and good-neighborliness in the relations between the two countries that have taken shape in the 40 years that the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance has been in effect. The talks revealed a reciprocal interest in the preservation of the high level that has been achieved in Soviet-Finnish trade and economic links as a whole and in securing reliable prospects for their development by means of the active utilization of new and more effective forms of cooperation.

In considering the results of Comrade Zaykov's working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Politburo endorsed the specific accords that were reached on the

main guidelines for raising the effectiveness of cooperation between the party organizations of Moscow and Sofia. Matters of Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation that were discussed in the course of the visit have been handed over for consideration by the relevant ministries and departments.

The session heard a report on the results of a visit to the DPRK by a Soviet party and government delegation that took part in celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic. Approval was given to the results of the meeting between Comrade Chebrikov and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, during which a mutual desire for the further deepening of Soviet-Korean friendly relations and the expansion of the cooperation between the USSR and DPRK in international affairs was confirmed.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted decisions on some other questions relating to the party's domestic and foreign policy.

Gorbachev Attends Tolstoy Anniversary Meeting
LD2209225088 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT
22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—A meeting to mark the 150th birth anniversary of great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy was held in Moscow Thursday. It was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, other Soviet leaders, prominent workers in literature and arts and foreign guests. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1730 GMT, in a similar report, notes that "Comrades Gorbachev, Zaykov, and Yakovlev were in the Presidium."]

Yuriy Bondarev, secretary of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers, and other speakers pointed out that Leo Tolstoy had been and would continue to be a pride of the Soviet people, a glory of the whole of mankind.

Tolstoy's anniversary is being marked nationwide. A museum of the writer was opened after the restoration on the eve of the jubilee with 70,000 manuscripts of the great writer.

Many of Tolstoy's works have been reprinted this year, a book "Tolstoy and the Tolstoys" by Sergey Tolstoy, a grandson of the writer, who lives in France, will be put out.

Gorbachev, Yakovlev Meet Media Figures
LD2309125788 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT
23 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting at the party Central Committee today with media executives, heads of ideological institutions and leaders of the unions of workers in culture and the arts.

The meeting discussed the tasks of the press at the current juncture in the perestroika (restructuring) drive.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the meeting.

Kraykom Chief on Impact of Gorbachev Visit
PM2209133788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with O.S. Shenin, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom, by special correspondent Yu. Nikolayev: "Restructuring Forces Brought Into Action. A Few Questions for O.S. Shenin, First Secretary of Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom, Following M.S. Gorbachev's Tour of the Kray"—date not given, first paragraph is Nikolayev introduction]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—Our conversation with O.S. Shenin, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk party kraykom, came, as they say, hot on the heels of M.S. Gorbachev's tour of Krasnoyarsk Kray, at a time when the natural excitement had not yet subsided and when there had not yet been time to analyze what had happened or to work out a whole program of specific action. Oleg Semenovitch warned:

[Shenin] For the time being I'm only prepared to share my initial impressions.

[Nikolayev] Well then, could we start with the strongest of them? And with the conclusions that you have been able to draw....

[Shenin] All of us—I'm thinking of party and Soviet workers and economic leaders—have learned model lessons of how to conduct political work with the masses and each individual. I was alongside Mikhail Sergeevich and can testify that he never once dodged a single question. He gave detailed answers to schoolchildren and labor veterans. Questions were often raised repeatedly, particularly if the conversation turned to the problems of food supply, ecology, the transition to new tariffs, working conditions, and subscriptions to periodicals and books.... Again and again he patiently and thoroughly explained the prevailing situation to people and invited them to think about how to resolve certain tasks more rapidly and effectively. He often talked about the kinds of approaches to the resolution of this task that had been found in other areas.

A very great impression on the interlocutors was made by the simplicity of the discourse and, at the same time, its professionalism, principledness, and supreme demandingness. I have often seen even sophisticated speakers play to the gallery if the discussion gets tough and the crowd's demands become too emotional.... But here there was just an equable, calm, and—this is the main

thing—very intelligible explanation of the errors in interlocutors' positions, if they were wrong about something or sometimes not well enough informed.

But I was probably struck most of all by the power of empathy for people in their needs. Mikhail Sergeyevich did not calm down for a long time if he heard about complacent or disdainful attitudes to people and the satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs. Hence probably the main conclusion I drew for myself....

[Nikolayev] Which is?

[Shenin] I came to the conclusion that people have no business being in the party or soviet apparatus if they are incapable of empathy and of putting themselves in the position of comrades who have been hit by something or have fallen on hard, if not tragic, times. Party and soviet workers should have sensitive hearts, they cannot fail to respond to others' suffering. And we should put a stop to bureaucracy as quickly as possible.

[Nikolayev] But where and how are we to find such workers?

[Shenin] This is actually the most suitable time for this. Reports and elections are under way in the party. As the general secretary rightly noted, restructuring forces have been brought into action. Is there anything stopping us from nominating responsive comrades for the leadership of party organizations, self-starters able to defend their labor collectives' interests and vigorously pursue the party's course of restructuring? Then, as we know, elections will start to the soviets....

[Nikolayev] Clearly it would be reasonable to extend these selection principles to economic leaders too, since a great deal depends on their position in everything relating to the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants of Siberian towns and villages.

[Shenin] Undoubtedly! All the more so as it is economic managers' inertia and their adherence to old economic thinking that is now doing the most damage to restructuring and the galvanization of the human factor.

[Nikolayev] Could you expand on that?

[Shenin] I would pleased to! Mikhail Sergeyevich set a graphic example at the meeting at the Krasnoyarsk branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. For instance, the Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of the Coal Industry allocated just 13 percent of available capital investment funds for the nonproduction sphere in our kray. That is, there are deformations and distortions in investment policy in the actual plans for exploiting the region's

immense natural resources, and this disrupts the development of production capacities and the social sphere. Need it be shown that ultimately this leads to the poor and incomplete utilization of the economic potential that has been created?...

[Nikolayev] This truth would seem to be obvious. Narrow departmental approaches to territorial development, as is well known, have often been criticized in the press and from the highest quarters. So just what is stopping us from overcoming them?

[Shenin] We are greatly to blame. We must assume that it was not for nothing that it was noted during the conversation that the kraykom and the krayispolkom were unable to withstand departmental pressure and defend people's fundamental interests. Well, we will learn our lesson from it. Although I quite clearly recognize that there will be considerable resistance.

[Nikolayev] Aren't you laying it on a bit thick, Oleg Semenovitch? After all, the scientists who took part in the conference at the branch of the Academy's Siberian Department should draw the corresponding conclusions. Particularly when it was insistently stressed that the discussion that has been started on the kray's comprehensive development will be continued and concluded by making practical decisions....

[Shenin] I'd very much like to hope so. But our concern cannot be called groundless. At Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's final meeting with representatives of the kray's working people I said that we must put a stop to the colonial policy of ministries and see how annoyed ministers would be then. How can we be colonizers, they will say, if day and night our only concern is for the country to have coal, metal, electricity.... And that is true: They do care! Just try failing to meet the plan by a kilowatt-hour, a tonne of metal or coal, or a cubic meter of timber, and you'll be the death of them! Yet people who produce electricity or mine coal are not given the proper attention.

And, unfortunately, this is true not only of the leaders of central ministries and departments, but of our economic managers too. Here is convincing evidence of this. In Norilsk Mikhail Sergeyevich asked A. Filatov, director of a well-known mining and metallurgical combine, when the town's requirements for kindergartens and creches would be met. And what was the reply? The new director, elected recently on a democratic basis and reputedly a progressive and responsible person, stated: in 4 years' time. The 27th CPSU Congress set a different timetable: to make full provision for preschool places by 1990. But in the Far North, where each pair of hands comes so expensive, it would be a good idea to be somewhat ahead in the construction schedule for children's facilities. Ultimately, it's time we took account of the fact that people come north to earn a bit of money, not to spend years with small children waiting for a kindergarten place to come up.

[Nikolayev] Oleg Semenovitch, most of the complaints were probably about food supplies.

[Shenin] Understandably so, of course, although in recent years the kray has somewhat increased production and consumption of meat, milk, and vegetables. During the visit many obstacles in the way of resolving food issues were removed. Certain acute issues were resolved by L.V. Yermin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's Gosagroprom, who accompanied the general secretary on his tour. The ministries of the coal industry, power and electrification, and heavy machine building have allocated R220 million for the development of the agro-industrial complex. And what is particularly valuable is that they are assimilating these funds for the installation of agricultural projects using their own resources and their own contract work quotas. It is planned to redistribute funds in favor of the agro-industrial complex at many industrial enterprises too.

The implementation of all the measures that have been determined should provide a powerful boost in building up output of crop farming and stockraising products and, correspondingly, in providing better supplies of them for the kray's working people.

[Nikolayev] The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom To Improve Working People's Social and Consumer Conditions" was adopted in January 1987. Almost 18 months have passed since then and now the same old questions are again being asked about housing, the satisfaction of people's needs for consumer services, medical services....

[Shenin] In these 18 months or so we have managed to somewhat strengthen the material and technical base of trade, public catering, and medical and consumer services. Housing commissioned has increased by 10 percent. The kray's working people have received almost 70,000 new apartments in the past 2 years. However, the criticism of us is fair. We are still resolving important tasks too slowly. That is why a great deal of attention was devoted to building up the capacity of the kray's construction complex in the course of the exchange of opinions. We had previously presented a special program for developing construction capacity to the USSR Gosstroy. We're essentially talking about doubling capacity on the basis of the need to develop power generation, nonferrous metallurgy, and the timber industry and to start work opening up oil and gas deposits. The Gosstroy sent back the first version of this program for further work. An updated version is currently being examined by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy. We hope it will be ratified.

The development of construction capacity will make it possible not only to bring the social sphere up to the standard required, but also to develop priority avenues of the economy more rapidly.

[Nikolayev] At virtually every meeting M.S. Gorbachev touched to some extent on the problem of the comprehensive nature of the development of these production facilities and their modernization and retooling.

[Shenin] Presumably quite deliberately. Many stupid things were done. And the recently elected director of the Minusinsk Electronics Complex was quite right when, at a meeting with the kray's working people, he raised the question of responsibility for ill-conceived technical and economic solutions. This complex was once widely known. It was said that it would comprise 12 modern plants. But construction was only started on four of them, and they were not completed. The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry is still unclear as to what is going to happen.

The same can be said of the Ministry of Power and Electrification. During the general secretary's tour of our kray the question of the expediency of building the Turukhanskiy and Sredneyeniseyskaya GES' was repeatedly raised, since this will flood vast territories and deprive the indigenous population of the possibility to practice traditional trades. The time has clearly come to adopt a clear position.

There was major criticism of science, which in the past has often made various concessions and now often fails to take a firm position.

[Nikolayev] What do you have in mind?

[Shenin] Here is a specific example of an ill-conceived approach. When construction of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES was begun, it was decided to flood a forest growing on the steep slopes of a valley. It was thought too expensive to cut it down. This is now regretted. The trees washed away by the water are floating to the surface, polluting the reservoir and complicating the station's work. Moreover, by no means safe substances enter the water as the remaining vegetation rots....

In short, there are ample bitter lessons. It is important to make sure that nothing of the kind is repeated.

[Nikolayev] What decisions are being made on the "Khimvolokno" Production Association in Krasnoyarsk, whose modernization has been so delayed? I recall that the chemical workers expressed great concern....

[Shenin] The situation here was examined by the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR with the participation of Yu.P. Batalin, and it was decided to proceed with modernization. The first phase should be finished by 1990 and the second phase by 1992.

I think that it is important to stress the following point in this respect. Questions of ecology and of the need to modernize enterprises polluting the environment were

acutely raised not only during talks with chemical and power industry workers at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. They were also raised by inhabitants of the kray center and Norilsk. Mikhail Sergeyevich suggested considering a special nature conservancy program for Krasnoyarsk Kray. It is all the more necessary for this to be done as quickly as possible now that the metallurgists, chemical workers, and power workers are being joined by oil and gas workers in exploiting the region's natural resources.

[Nikolayev] It was from here, Krasnoyarsk, that the Soviet Union's new initiatives in stabilizing the situation on the Asian Continent sped around the world. What could you say on this point?

[Shenin] It would be no exaggeration if I said that Siberians were exceptionally satisfied with Mikhail Sergeyevich's report of new steps to strengthen peace in Asia. I'm sure that our kray's productive forces will develop far more rapidly under the conditions of good-neighborliness. It is no secret, for instance, that many Japanese firms are interested in close cooperation with Siberians in exploiting our unique natural riches. Most-favored-nation status would allow us to use our partners' highly efficient technology, and joint production facilities could be set up. There are enormous possibilities for cooperation with the PRC. And the decision to set up an international space research center based at the Krasnoyarsk radar station opens up impressive prospects. Mutual trust can and should be a powerful incentive for the economic and social development of the entire world community.

There is no doubt that if the proposals first heard on Siberian soil are accepted, people's morale will be boosted and they will work more vigorously and live life more fully.

[Nikolayev] Well, Oleg Semenovich, we've come back to how Siberians and Soviet people feel, and what their needs are....

[Shenin] And that's no surprise. Our party has no more important concern. The tour of our kray by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee rammed this home once again. It is now exceptionally important to strive for the speediest practical implementation of all the measures worked out during that visit.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Trade Union Council
PM2209143588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
22 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[TRUD-TASS report under the rubric "Trade Unions: Practice of Restructuring": "Time for New Approaches: From the Moscow City Trade Union Council Plenum"]

[Excerpts] The durability of a building depends greatly on the strength of its foundations. Primary trade union organizations may rightly be considered the foundation

of the entire trade union system. It is in labor collectives that public opinion and people's attitude to labor and to material and spiritual values are mainly formed, initiatives originate, and the urgent problems of people's lives and the practical tasks of restructuring are resolved.

The existing structure of trade unions has been fairly criticized recently because it has too many tiers and an abundance of leading organs, each of which tries to issue commands to the primary organization.

The Moscow city trade union council on 20 September was devoted to the improvement of the structure of the capital's trade unions in accordance with the demands of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 3d AUCCTU Plenum. Taking part in its work were L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU. [passage omitted]

The Moscow city trade union council plenum was addressed by L.N. Zaykov. We have entered the period of direct implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was a most important political milestone in restructuring, he stressed. The active implementation of the reform of the political system, which is designed to eliminate the deformations of the past, revive Leninist principles and the practice of socialist people's power, and strengthen legality and the rule of law, is acquiring the utmost importance now.

The conference gave a mighty impetus to the activeness of mass organizations such as trade unions. However, work to eradicate old-fashioned management, with one eye fixed on party and state organs, ossified working practices, and the inertia of the trade union aktiv, is still proceeding too slowly.

In the party gorkom's opinion, what are the main areas where the Moscow trade unions' efforts should be focused? The main one, of course, is the democratization of life within trade unions and the development of primary organizations' independence and initiative.

The present management structure of the city's trade unions, with its unwieldiness, duplication, and abundance of orders and paperwork, is a brake on the restructuring of trade union work. Forces must be regrouped and concentrated in the main areas, barriers within the apparatus must be removed, a number of functions should be transferred to other organizations, and on that basis the size of the apparatus should be reduced.

It is important to ensure that the structural transformations do not obscure the essence of the matter. If you enter the new structure bringing with you the old style and methods of activity and the old views of the place

and role of trade unions, the effectiveness of the transformations that are being wrought will be sharply diminished. Working people and trade union members are interested not in where a particular leading trade union worker is going to sit, but in how reliably the trade union will protect and safeguard their rights and legitimate interests.

The need to improve cooperation with soviets is acquiring paramount importance. Close cooperation between trade union organs' commissions and the corresponding soviet standing commissions and between trade union committees and deputies' groups in production must be achieved in practice. It is necessary to elaborate and implement joint programs and practical action plans on specific social and legal problems.

The changes in the electoral system and the opportunity to delegate representatives to soviets are not only an additional opportunity to take part in the management of the state or the region; they also represent trade unions' increased responsibility for the results of socioeconomic development.

It is important to ensure that trade unions are active supporters of the intensification of self-management principles. The self-management of labor collectives increases the significance of such trade union functions as the defense of working people's democratic rights.

The introduction of the Law on the State Enterprise has placed the question of mutual relations between labor collective councils and trade union committees on the agenda. The task is to help the organs of self-management that are being formed, to share the wealth of experience of organizational work with them, to support them, especially in the initial stage, and, most important, to join forces in the solution of all the acute problems facing enterprises.

Trade unions must play a far more active role in the implementation of the economic reform. It is only by profound and radical economic reform that perceptible changes can be achieved in the improvement of the living conditions of the working class and all working people. Economic accountability is the pivot of the reform. At the same time the transfer of enterprises to work in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing has raised quite a few acute questions. They include the establishment of valid normatives and tariffs, the prompt conclusion of economic contracts, the formation of the production plan, the transfer to economic accountability within the plant, and much more.

Far from everything is running smoothly here today. The number of loss-making enterprises is falling only slowly and one enterprise in four is failing to cope with the plan targets for profits. The introduction of internal economic accountability is poor. Only 30 percent of workers in

teams are working with elements of economic accountability and fewer than 10 percent are using the collective contract. Workers have sometimes stopped work because of a reduction in wages and other reasons.

That is why the processes of enterprises' economic development and their social aspects must constantly be at the center of trade union organs' attention. Here trade unions must be oriented toward preventing negative consequences and not merely correcting them.

An important aspect of trade unions' work is their active participation in solving problems in the social sphere; in other words, the defense of working people's rights and interests.

The 19th party conference highlighted the rapid improvement of the food supply and of trade, municipal, and consumer services, increasing the production of consumer goods, and accelerating the solution of the housing question as the key problems.

Trade union workers' monitoring of trade and public catering enterprises' work, both in terms of the quality of trade service and in the range of goods, has become slack recently. The market in nonfood goods is still under strain. Cheap goods, particularly for children and old people, are "disappearing" from the product range. Is this not a question of working people's interests? Shouldn't that interest be protected? Trade unions must also be concerned that the price of goods is acceptable.

Today virtually one Muscovite in six needs improved housing conditions. The program to provide every Muscovite family with its own apartment by the year 2000 is most complex. Above all it is necessary to strictly observe the principle of social justice when allocating housing.

The new structure of the city's trade unions has been discussed in detail with the trade union aktiv at the secretariat, presidium, and standing commissions of the Moscow city trade union council. In other words it is being ratified from grassroots level up, on the basis of life. That is good—there is a greater guarantee that it will work efficiently, will help to develop primary trade union organizations' independence, and activate their work for restructuring.

There is confidence that it will work in tune with all political institutions transformed during the reform.

The new structure of the Moscow city trade union council which is being ratified will make it possible to eradicate inertia, the narrow departmental approach to work by the apparatus, and its unwieldiness. The organization of trade unions committees' work on the basis of a two-tier structure will also be more democratic. Trade union central committees, which include territorial and sectorial subdivisions for work in Moscow, will

be given an opportunity to establish a direct and indissoluble link with labor collectives. Primary trade union organizations in the capital can and have already, to a large extent, become a good proving ground for studying the experience of work for central trade union organs as well.

The work ahead is strenuous, particularly with regard to fulfilling the tasks set by the 19th all-union party conference. It is necessary once more to analyze most closely the tasks placed before trade union organs by the 18th Trade Union Congress and in the congress speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Trade unions are required to be a counterbalance to technocratic trends in the economy and to show increased concern for the social aspects of the economic reform. The trade union must also be more demanding toward economic leaders for safeguarding working people's rights and interests.

In brief, L.N. Zaykov stressed, fundamental improvements are needed in the solution of the urgent problems of the city's life. They must be resolved by Muscovites themselves. Each trade union organization and the leading trade union organs must actively and immediately become involved in the fulfillment of party decisions.

The plenum adopted a resolution aimed at improving the structure of trade union organs, enhancing the role of primary trade union organizations, and developing their independence.

Moscow Gorkom Meets, Discusses Food Problems
LD2209094388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] The problem of providing the capital with fruit and vegetable produce is acquiring a truly political nature. Acceptance of this fact served as the starting part for a principled, businesslike debate which took place today at an extended session of the bureau of the Moscow Gorkom. Taking part were Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex; Comrade Sklyarov, head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Yerminev, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex; heads of a number of central ministries, departments, and party, local-soviet, and economic bodies of Moscow, and members of the press.

All those who spoke acknowledged the acuteness of the situation which has developed. Indeed, at the very height of the season the lines for fruit and vegetable produce in the capital are getting no smaller. The shelves in shops

are frequently empty. The quality of vegetables, fruit, and potatoes is low, and a considerable amount of it is simply rotting without even reaching the consumer.

Who is to blame for this and how can the situation be radically changed? During the course of an acute but specific debate lasting several hours many points of view were put forward, and real causes were named as well as the perpetrators of disgraceful instances of negligence, indifference, and slovenliness.

By their disorder in the organization of the fruit and vegetable trade, Communists who are responsible for this area of work are simply discrediting restructuring. This tough appraisal which was voiced at the session was backed up by numerous specific factors.

The city committee bureau appraised the actions of all the leaders [rukovoditeli] in a manner befitting the party. It was stressed at the session that today everyone should work at his own place and bear personal responsibility for the results of the work and the state of affairs. Literally the whole route of fruit and vegetable produce, from the field to the consumer, should be under the strict, vigilant inspection—precisely inspection—of party and local-soviet bodies. For, alas, today we have the wanton practice of their fulfilling the functions of a controlling officer [dispatcherskaya funktsiya].

The work of the appropriate services must be put right, and this is more difficult than organizing things for them; here lies the key to decisive and ultimate changes for the better being achieved on this issue.

It was not a simple matter to render as responsible to the bureau of the Moscow Gorkom the leaders of the Moscow City Agro-Industrial Complex, the Main Directorate for Trade, the Main Directorate for Public Catering, a number of other services of the Moscow gorispolkom, certain secretaries of party raykoms, and chairmen of rayon executive committees who have committed serious shortcomings in this important matter.

Impartial questions were put to representatives of central agro-industrial, cooperative, transport, and other departments who were present in the hall. Many of those responsible for the justified dissatisfaction of Muscovites have been severely punished.

Ukraine Cuts, Reorganizes Administration
AU2309091788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 18 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Restructuring the Republic's Administrative Organs"]

[Text] Guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress, the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the 19th all-union party conference, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers have been purposefully working to further

develop and deepen radical economic reform. Many organizational, financial, economic, social, and legal measures have been taken to radically change national economic management, to provide the conditions necessary for switching over from predominantly administrative methods of management to economic ones, and to implement the USSR laws on the state enterprise (association) and on cooperation in the USSR. In the course of restructuring the administrative apparatus, improving its quality, and perfecting the forms and methods of management in national economic branches, the standards of the entire management activity have been rising. All this has contributed positively to intensifying communal production, accomplishing the tasks of making more effective use of the scientific-technological potential, and accelerating the republic's socioeconomic development.

In line with the general management plan for the Ukrainian SSR national economy, nine union republic and republic ministries and departments have been abolished. New management schedules have been approved for national economic branches providing, as a rule, for a two-level system. Fifty four republic-level industrial associations and more than 300 other branch intermediate-level organs have been abolished.

The leading functional subunits in the central apparatus of ministries and departments have been reinforced. The number of independent sections and administrations has been cut 40 percent. Fifty-four jobs of ministers, department leaders, and their deputies have been cut.

A great deal has been done to restructure the organization of the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, Ministry of Finance, and other economic organs, and many of their functions have been taken over by branch ministries, local soviets, and other administrative subunits. At the same time the latter have been charged with a number of other important functions which were previously within the competence of union-level organs. In this way economic organs have been reoriented in their activity in such a way that they can deal with comprehensive problems more thoroughly and accomplish interbranch national economic tasks.

As a result of adopting new management plans, the number of personnel in the republic's administrative organs will be cut by a factor of 2, including 35 percent in the central apparatuses of ministries and departments.

Staffs are being cut strictly in line with labor legislation, and with the established grants and compensation for discharged personnel. Programs are being implemented for reemploying these specialists mainly in existing associations, enterprises, and organizations or in those that have been newly established. Depending on the national economic needs, they have also been given the chance to retrain and to acquire a new profession.

Measures have been drawn up to increase production concentration, and to concentrate scientific forces at the main level. Twenty-six new scientific and production associations, as well as 248 production, production and trade, planning and industrial production, and a number of other associations have been set up. Ministries and departments have passed a significant number of economic management functions directly over to enterprises and associations, and this has provided the conditions necessary for the latter to switch over to full economic accountability and self-financing.

Steps are being taken to put the network of scientific and planning organizations in order, and to link the republic's computing centers in one single network for collective use. Structural improvements and cuts are being made in the management apparatus of public organizations.

Work on approving oblast management schedules for the national economy is nearing completion. Pains are being taken to boost the role of the soviets of people's deputies in managing economic, social, and cultural affairs in their respective territories. Main planning and economic administrations are being created in each oblast and the city of Kiev to coordinate this work.

Further on Exposure of Ukrainian Nationalists
AU2309102188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 17 Sep 88 p 3

[A. Maslov report on the news conference given by Soviet and Polish state security organs on 14 September in Kiev on the completion of their operation concerning the activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists: "They Have Not Changed..."]

[Excerpts] As reported in the mass media, a representative news conference on the hostile activity of an extremist center of reactionary Ukrainian emigres, the "Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad" (ZCh OUN), against the USSR and the PPR, was held in Kiev recently with the participation of Soviet and foreign journalists. The journalists saw numerous printing and technical devices with which nationalists had tried to carry out their subversive ideological acts on our country's territory, the large sums of money confiscated from ZCh OUN emissaries, sums intended for the same purposes, and various photographic and video materials. Exhaustively answering the journalists' questions were Ukrainian SSR KGB Colonel K. Vysotskiy, an active participant in the operation; Major A. Minkowicz, staff member of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the PPR; and Lvov physician S. Panchishin and Kiev journalist Yu. Ivanchenko, who were in direct contact with the ZCh OUN.

Remember that one of active anti-Soviet centers, remarkable for its extreme hostility toward the USSR, the "Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad," was formed on the territory of Hitlerite Germany as early as 1940. This was the fruit of the activity

of fascist special services. They were the ones who formed from among the Bandera-ites (named after Stepan Bandera, their first leader) the punitive "Nachtigal" and "Roland" battalions, which participated in mass executions by shooting and in torturing the peaceful population in the Ukraine and Belorussia. After the war, the remnants of these nationalist military units and their bosses found refuge in the FRG, Great Britain, the United States of America, and Canada. The present Bandera-ite headquarters is located in Munich. The organization is headed by V. Oleskiv, S. Mudrik, I. Dmytriv, I. Kashuba, and other agents of the Western special services. Their goal is to overthrow the socialist system in Ukraine by force of arms. [passage omitted]

[Question] As is known, nationalist centers abroad have been fighting against the USSR for decades. They have not been successful because of the lack of suitable ground for their struggle in either the Ukraine or in the country as a whole. Nonetheless, state security organs carried out such a large-scale action and spent much money. Does this mean that the ZCh OUN are still really dangerous to the USSR?

K. Vysotskiy: Having compared the possibilities of this nationalist organization abroad with our country's power, anyone would conclude that the designs of the ZCh OUN are unrealistic. But we must not forget that the ZCh OUN counts on an armed conflict that, in their opinion, would involve the USSR. And precisely then the groups and individual persons used by the nationalists located abroad could be of great help to them.

Here is what one of their instructions says: "The main objective of our activity is to be ready to join in the struggle for liberation waged in the Ukraine or during a military revolution. For this purpose young OUN cadres are being trained in foreign armies, in American, British, and Canadian shooting clubs, and are mastering the necessary military skills for insurrection and guerrilla warfare during a military revolution." The OUN adherents profess the "sharp forms" of the struggle—terrorist and subversive acts. This is not idle talk. We know cases in which they have succeeded in this. Let us recall the blast at the Munich "Aeroflot" office and other acts. We must not permit anything like that on our territory. We have to take into account the fact that behind the ZCh OUN stand the special services of Western countries.

[Question] In order to draw conclusions from the presented materials, Ukrainian nationalists attempted to contact influential Jewish and Zionist organizations. However, the OUN is known for its extreme anti-Semitism. As a person who is familiar with that "shop" from the inside, how do you explain such a metamorphosis?

Yu. Ivanchenko: At one time Ya. Stetsko declared that the Jewry in the West was the best organized group possessing great material means. To obtain funds for their anti-Soviet activity, nationalists are actually prepared for any change and can copy anything.

S. Panchishin: Despite some changes in terminology, they have not really changed at all.

[Question] Why die you stop playing the "game"?

K. Vysotskiy: Democratization and glasnost have changed the situation in our country. The policy of our party is not aimed at confrontation, but instead at the easing of tensions, at enhancing mutual confidence, and at establishing contacts among states. As constantly noted by M.S. Gorbachev, in improving international relations it is essential to search for new ways and for new contacts in order to avoid, in the last analysis, a military confrontation. In connection with this we felt that it would be wrong to foster illusions among Western special services and in the OUN centers that in our country there are some grounds for an organized struggle against our system. We felt that having unmasked the activity of the ZCh OUN, which aspires to a leading role among nationalist centers abroad and which, under the direction of Western special services, is to a certain extent dangerous, we must prompt the governments of those countries on whose territories they act to take, in the spirit of the changes and times, real steps to avoid this danger and to promote truly friendly relations among our countries. [passage omitted]

Zhdanov Kolkhoz Votes To Change Name
PM2209133588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Zinovyev report: "Time Judges..."]

[Text] The participants in a rally held at Davlekanovskiy Rayon's Zhdanov Kolkhoz in Bashkiria voted in favor of renaming their livestock unit.

"We do not want our livestock unit to bear the name of a man who betrayed the ideals of the revolution, who was personally involved in the mass repressions in the Bashkir ASSR, Orenburg, and the Tatar ASSR (Zhdanov carried out 'purges' in these regions on Stalin's instructions in 1937), and who stifled literature and art."

Following the adoption of this resolution, the kolkhoz workers took A. Zhdanov's bust down from its pedestal and removed his name plate from the kolkhoz board. The kolkhoz workers' decision has been approved by the Davlekanovskiy CPSU Raykom and the rayispolkom. The kolkhoz board has announced a competition to find a new name for the kolkhoz.

MVD Official Lauds Correctional Camp Changes
PM2209151388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Lieutenant General of the Internal Services I.N. Katargin, member of the USSR MVD Collegium and chief of the USSR MVD Main (Combined) Correctional Affairs Administration, under the rubric: "Follow-Up to IZVESTIYA Article": "The Zone"]

[Text] On the instructions of the ministry leadership, the USSR Main (Combined) Correctional Affairs Administration [GUID] has together with other interested services examined the series of Leonid Shinkarev articles entitled "The Zone," which are devoted to the acute problem and questions of improving the activity of correctional labor establishments. One cannot fail to agree with the author that the main task of these subunits—to correct and reeducate convicts and restore them to honest working life—is at present being resolved in a poorer fashion than existing capabilities would warrant and that the braking mechanism that took shape during the years of stagnation is clearly making itself felt here. The radical restructuring of correctional labor establishments and the work to comprehensively strengthen legality in places of deprivation of freedom are designed to radically change this situation.

The article voices particular concern in connection with the higher concentration of convicts in Siberia and the Far East than in other regions. How do matters stand here? Today approximately 20 percent of the total number of convicts are concentrated in this region, which is indeed somewhat higher per 1,000 population than analogous figures for the country. Convicts are sent to these regions owing to the acute shortage of manpower resources at a number of important economic construction sites and timber procurement facilities, at the insistent request of sector ministry leaders by agreement with the USSR Gosplan. Evidently this problem cannot be solved overnight. But the author is right on the fundamental question.

At the present the USSR MVD is taking steps to reduce the number of convicts in the aforementioned regions. Thus, this year 23 colonies located in Siberian and Far Eastern regions have already been eliminated and there are plans to close another 8 subunits by the end of the year. The overall total of the special contingent used here has dropped 40 percent since the beginning of the year. At the same time the number of supervised special detention centers operating at economic sites has dropped 26 percent. These positive changes will appear even more palpable with the adoption of new criminal legislation. In connection with specific examples in the article, the appropriate GUID services have been tasked with elaborating additional measures to improve the prevailing practice of convict transportation in each of the oblasts mentioned in the article.

The newspaper justifiably raises the question of the need for comprehensive and organic use of all correctional and reeducational methods envisaged by law for law-breakers and for absolute intolerance of priority being given to the exploitation of convicts' labor to the detriment of educative work. It must be confessed that such distortions have occurred in a number of subunits. This practice and views like "the plan at any cost" have been resolutely condemned by the USSR MVD. A ministry collegium held 31 August 1988 examined the progress of restructuring the work of correctional labor establishments and demanded that the entire potential of correctional labor establishments be concentrated on resolving their main end task: law-breakers' social and labor adaptation and their restoration to honest life.

How can this be achieved? The IZVESTIYA article voiced the idea that work with personnel must be resolutely improved and the detention procedure in correctional labor establishments that took shape under different historical conditions be revised, humanizing it and improving working and living conditions for people detained in colonies and remand detention centers [sledstvennyy izolyator] as one radical way to solve this fundamental question. The USSR MVD GUID wholly shares this approach.

What specifically is being done in this area and what is proposed to be done? With great support from party and soviet organs the cadre potential of correctional labor establishments is being improved, and colonies and remand detention centers are resolutely cleansing themselves of people who violate legality, flout convicts' rights, and simply do not possess the requisite moral qualities for working in correctional labor establishments. Thus, this year in the course of an extraordinary certification of staffers at places of deprivation of freedom, 5,190 people have been deemed unfit for their posts. More than 7,000 of the best representatives of labor collectives, Communists, and Komsomol members have been accepted into correctional labor establishments following directives from party organs. Some of them have been sent to specific subunits mentioned in "The Zone." This work will continue.

The USSR MVD is currently working with other law enforcement bodies and scientific establishments to radically review existing correctional labor legislation and the normative base for the correction and reeducation of convicted persons in line with the 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Legal Reform." They have already abolished or redrafted dozens of orders, instructions, and provisions containing norms rejected by real life and practice, which was rightly discussed in the article. Particular attention is being paid to the questions of strictly safeguarding prisoners' civil rights, ensuring that the observance of law and order and the rule of law in all areas of official day-to-day activity is strictly monitored, and combining the most humane possible

approach to prisoners who have their feet firmly on the path of correction with the adoption of strong measures against people continuing to lead a parasitical life.

To this end, a preliminary model of a new type of colony has been prepared in conjunction with the USSR MVD All-Union Scientific Research Institute. In particular, it is proposed to make considerable changes to the procedure for serving sentence and to the conditions of holding prisoners under different forms of regime, as well as provision for prisoners to make a gradual transition from a strict regime to an easier one. An experiment is being carried out in 51 colonies to introduce a points [zachetnyy] system. The preliminary outcome makes it possible to talk of positive results: The number of cases of failure to comply with the regime in these experimental colonies has fallen by 28 percent, earnings have increased, and the material situation of the prisoners has improved. Corresponding amendments are being made during the experiment, opinions expressed in the press taken into account, and fuller attention paid to the interests of different categories of prisoners.

Serious changes are being made to the conditions in which prisoners are kept in educational labor colonies. As an experiment, the Abovyan, Bryansk, Kremenchug, Melitopol, Vitebsk, and a number of other educational labor colonies have decided to abandon many of the traditional attributes of colonies for adult criminals—barbed wire, for example—to allow juvenile offenders the right to speak with their parents in other cities by telephone and wear short hairstyles, and to introduce a series of other changes of a humanitarian nature. It is planned to reach a situation where elements of the Makarenko system of pedagogy, education, and instruction take first place in all educational labor colonies.

The restructuring of correctional labor colony work is taking place under increased scrutiny from the mass media. Many press items and television items are helping the main administration and its local subdivisions to efficiently reveal shortcomings and oversights and determine measures to eliminate them. The "Zone" series in IZVESTIYA is undoubtedly one such item.

The policy of strengthening businesslike, lively cooperation between correctional labor colonies and the mass media, the broad public, and labor collectives is an inalienable part of the process of restructuring the work of places of confinement.

Kharchev Interviewed on Religious Freedom
AU2209122388 Prague MLADA FRONTA
in Czech 16 Sep 88 p 5

[Interview with Konstantin Mikhaylovich Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, by Vanda Husnerova: "The Millenium Has Become Proof of Religious Freedoms in the USSR"—date, place not given]

[Text] At the conclusion of his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia, Konstantin Mikhaylovich Kharchev,

chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, gave an interview to MLADA FRONTA.

[Husnerova] How would you describe the basic principles of current relations between the Soviet state and the churches?

[Kharchev] In the USSR, church-state relations are based on the Leninist principles of separating the church from the state, and the schools from the church. These principles were anchored in the famous decree of 1918, which decreed that in the Soviet socialist state the separation of the church from the state primarily means the state's noninterference in internal church affairs, and vice versa. These church-state relations envisage free activities of the churches and their leadership, and the free profession of faith by every citizen. Faith is a personal concern of every citizen of a socialist state, and he is entitled to choose his world outlook himself. The state cannot interfere in this personal right of each of its citizens. These are actually the basic principles on which our present relations with the churches are based; and today, in the period of glasnost [Russian term used] and restructuring, we are reverting to this Leninist understanding of the matter. However, we make no secret of the fact that individual mistakes occurred in past church-state relations, above all during the Stalin personality cult and in the 1961-65 period, when many church buildings were closed down without proper reason.

[Husnerova] How do you see the role of churches under the conditions established by the current changes in the USSR?

[Kharchev] This is a complicated question. We are proceeding from the fact that both the church and the state have concurrent views on many problems—for instance, on issues connected with the nation's moral-ethical upbringing. We see that the social-ethical, moral issues promoted by the church are concurrent with the moral values currently fostered by our state (which is striving to implement them in practice). I have in mind such values as justice, mercy, honesty, veracity, the right attitude toward one's family and fellow men, good relations with one's neighbor, and so forth. This is only one of many examples.

[Husnerova] We are interested in relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet state.

[Kharchev] The relations established between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet state are good. They are essentially based on the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church is a patriotic church which supports the goals and tasks of socialist restructuring in our society. And this support of the goals and tasks of our socialist society is emphatically expressed in the latest church documents, adopted at the Council of the Orthodox Church which was convened on the occasion of the millenium of Christianity in Russia. The goals and tasks

of the Russian Orthodox Church do not contradict the tasks set by restructuring or by the domestic and foreign policy pursued by our state. This concurrence of interests and views is the foundation of good, normal relations. It is therefore no coincidence that the state is doing everything to enable the Russian Orthodox Church to function normally and to accomplish its tasks.

[Husnerova] The bourgeois propaganda is constantly accusing the socialist states of suppressing religious freedoms. How do you appraise the celebrations of 1,000 years of Christianity in Russia from this viewpoint?

[Kharchev] It is no secret that the bourgeois propaganda is doing all it can to disrupt the state-church relations under socialism. With this aim in view, our adversaries are making generous use of the issue of religious freedom. Within the framework of this campaign they are propagating the thesis that full religious freedom is impossible under socialism, and that a socialist state suppresses the religious freedoms of its citizens. I think that one can say with conviction that the millenium and its magnificent celebrations have shown that all these discussions about the suppression of religious freedoms in the USSR appear to be fabrications.

The millenium celebrations in particular have shown that the Christians in the USSR enjoy full freedom, and that they have very extensive opportunities for making use of their religious freedoms. However, many things still have to be improved. That is why we are currently working on improving our church legislation. Personally I am convinced that only socialism can provide a person who is a believer with full religious freedoms. In its final results, the process of improving socialism (which has begun in our country) will give the believers in the USSR a better life than the life led by believers in any capitalist state whatsoever—better in every respect, which also means in the sphere of religious freedoms.

Briefs

Bureaucracy Impeding Cooperatives

Cooperatives are making their presence in our life felt to an ever greater extent. The areas of their activities are becoming broader. It is true, however, that the cooperative movement is not developing as fast as is required by the needs of the national economy. For instance, out of the 26,000 cooperatives registered in the Russian federation, more than one-third has so far been unable to begin to operate due to bureaucratic impediments. [Text] [LD2309020888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Sep 88]

Traffic Accident Statistics

L.V. Zverkovskiy, chief of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, was interviewed on road traffic safety. According to the administration's reports, around

170,000 accidents have occurred in the first 8 months of this year, killing 27,500 people and injuring more than 183,000. So far this year 40,000 people have suffered at the hands of drunk drivers. [Summary] [LD2309021488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 88]

Economic

Problems Posed by Bankrupt Enterprises Examined
PM2209094988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
16 Sep 88 p 2

[Special correspondent Yu. Krasnopol'skiy article under the rubric "Economic Accountability Presents Its Bill": "Bankruptcies? The USSR Industrial Construction Bank Has Declared Approximately 50 Enterprises and Organizations Insolvent. What Will Happen to the People Who Find Themselves in a Difficult Situation?"]

[Text] Enterprises get into financial difficulties for various reasons. Sometimes it is not their fault. There is no denying that the principle "it will work out in the end" operated in our economy for a long time. So what? An enterprise was lagging behind, not working properly, and completely up to its eyeballs in debt—never mind. There was the ministry, so let the people there rack their brains over how to get the plant out of debt. And they did so: The ministry got hold of X rubles and paid them. Where did it get the money from? From another enterprise that was working well, from its profits, for there was nowhere else. And it turned out that it was possible not to work and to live at other people's expense.

Now the situation is changing. Economic accountability (khozraschet) and the new economic mechanism cannot be compatible with freeloading. The Law on the State Enterprise states: "An enterprise that systematically violates payment discipline may be declared insolvent by the banks..."

What does this mean?

"First," G. Levina, deputy chief of the Industrial Construction Bank's Economic Planning Administration, said, "we inform the suppliers. They stop sending products. This is natural: An insolvent enterprise does not have the means to pay for these products. And we notify the customers: They must know with whom they are dealing and seek more reliable partners. Then comes the calling in of all earlier issued credits. If the enterprise has not had time to spend them, they are withdrawn. If the money has been spent, all the funds coming into its account automatically go toward paying off the credit. Naturally, new credits are not issued. Debts are also repaid out of the funds that still continue to come in. If there is not enough money to settle up in full with the bank, we can apply mortgage law. In other words, sell the enterprise itself. Its equipment, production premises, stocks of raw materials..."

That is, sell by auction. To any ministry, department, or enterprise that wants it. Legally it works like this. Entering into a relationship with the bank, the enterprise mortgages to it what it has. If it cannot return what has been taken on credit, the bank disposes of the enterprise's property at its own discretion. But mortgage law has never been applied before.

Now certain enterprises are faced with the real prospect of total collapse. Bankrupt enterprises do not have the means either to buy machine tools or to pay workers' wages. The bank takes all monetary receipts. The labor collective gets into a difficult position. Let us not forget that we are talking about people's destinies.

Which are these first enterprises "transferring" to the category of bankrupts? How have they come to such a pass?

Let us name just a few. The No 89 Bridge Detachment (Kemerovo Oblast) and the No 535 Construction and Installation Train (Tula Oblast) of the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction. The first has been making losses for the country for several years. In 1987 they totaled R314,000 (instead of a planned profit of R383,000), and in the first quarter of this year alone R272,000. The causes are bad labor organization (construction and installation work to the tune of R1.5 million was not fulfilled) and low discipline (13,000 man-days lost, for which reason work to the tune of R500,000 was not fulfilled). Naturally, normative construction times are violated here. Thus, construction of a bridge over the Zolotoy Kitat River took 4 years instead of the normal 1 year.

During 1981-1987, the No 535 Construction and Installation Train cost the country more than R2 million in losses. The chief reason was the sharp rise in prime costs owing to the irrational use of material resources and to the fact that the wages growth rate outstripped labor productivity growth (by 4.8 percent), as well as the unjustified growth in above-normative stocks, which now exceeds the production growth rate by more than 40 percent. The inability to manage assiduously under the new conditions has brought to an equally sad position an electromechanical plant of the Ministry of Power and Electrification's "Omskselektrosetstroy" Trust, a tool plant in Yoshkar-Ola and "Tsentrolit" in Rustavi of the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the USSR Gosnab's Kansk Container Repair Enterprise, the Kharkov Tractor Engine Plant of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the No 12 Sawmill of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry in Arkhangelsk, the "Komsomolskstroyindustriya" Association of the Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR, and dozens of other enterprises.

And the question arises: What now? For long years we accepted the existence of freeloading enterprises. We have invested millions of rubles to cover up mismanagement in the hope (which, it is true, has been diminishing

with the years) that they will soon get out of trouble and stop dragging the economy backward. But all these subsidies, infusions of money, plan amendments, and other "measures" merely drive the disease deeper. It must be treated differently.

The ferroconcrete products and large-panel house-building plant of the Light Industry Ministry's "Eki-bastuzshakhtostroy" Combine has proved insolvent. The plant's current account has been closed. By agreement with the bank the enterprise's entire property has been transferred to the "Zhilstroy" Trust, which has been transformed into a house-building combine. This time they managed without a sale "by auction." The ministry essentially "rebought" its own plant from the bank. Let us see now what happens: Whether the new combine overcomes the former plant's loss-making nature or whether its old sins drag the combine back. It cannot be ruled out that it will be necessary then to return to this problem.

The "Donpressmash" Production Association of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry was declared insolvent a month ago—15 August. All the credits issued are being recovered ahead of schedule, and the issue of new loans has been stopped. In an attempt to somehow regularize relations with the bank, "Donpressmash" has submitted to it a program to improve the financial "health" of its economy. But it is not being fulfilled. A new attempt has been made to lease one of the shops to members of a cooperative to begin with. Later the entire association is to be leased out.

But not all ministries seriously tackle those enterprises of theirs that have gotten into trouble. People at the Main Economic Administration of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises were totally unaware that nine of its enterprises had been declared insolvent.

"Please repeat which of our enterprises are insolvent," V. Aronov, chief of the Main Economic Administration, asked me over the telephone with disheartening directness.

I had to repeat: the mobile mechanized column of the "Tyumengazstroy" Trust, the mobile mechanized column of the same trust's transport association, the "Tyumenpromzhilstroy" Trust, the No 20 Construction Administration of the "Nefteyuganskazstroy" Trust, and others. Naturally, it was pointless asking why those enterprises had ended up in such a disastrous situation and what the ministry intended to do. As a result of a series of urgent telephone calls to Tyumen, V. Aronov and his deputies S. Boreyko and V. Pronin merely ascertained that people there did not really know what to do either.

Meanwhile, the situation is extremely alarming. For example, the mobile mechanized column of the "Tyumengazstroy" Trust fulfilled the plan for the first half of this year by 63.2 percent and owed the bank R2.5 million

and suppliers more than R800,000. It was declared insolvent in August with all the ensuing consequences. But it is continuing somehow to make ends meet. How? Only with the trust's support. The latter gives the mobile mechanized column money to pay wages. It has, of course, taken it from the funds of other subdivisions. Material resources are supplied on the trust's orders, by its production and technological batching administration. On credit.

Thus, the same old switching of funds from profitable enterprises to loss-making ones is continuing here—the worst form of lack of personal responsibility and leveling. Instead of taking cardinal measures and effective decisions, people here are continuing to cover up irresponsibility and bungling with state rubles. And the ministry knows nothing about this.

I realize that if the economy is seriously switching to the new path of management, situations are possible in which an enterprise will find itself on the brink of bankruptcy. I realize this, but I cannot help thinking of the people who work in these enterprises. What will happen to them? What do the ministries think and, most importantly, what are they doing in this connection? What is the stand of the trade union central committees and local trade union organs? And what is the stand of the labor collectives themselves? For the collectives of enterprises brought to ruin cannot evade responsibility

for the situation that has taken shape and have no right to be mere onlookers. This is their vital cause too. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke of this at his meeting with Krasnoyarsk Kray working people, of the high degree of responsibility of collectives and their councils for their enterprise's economy and for the end results of its work.

Other problems also arise. By applying economic sanctions we cut off the weak link from all its economic ties, as it were. But what about the suppliers? Until wholesale trade in resources has been developed, they are tightly "tied" to their bankrupt customers. Stopping deliveries to them means reducing their own production, but it is no easy matter finding other partners quickly. A second side also suffers—those who obtain output from an enterprise that has been brought to ruin. It turns out that the bankruptcy of one collective is an inevitable blow to another. What is to be done here?

Some experience of this does exist—in Hungary, for example—but there is also a law on bankruptcy there that provides for degrees of responsibility both for the fate of enterprises and for the fate of people. We do not yet have such a law. We are not yet ready for really effective economic solutions to the problems that arise. Measures of social protection are also needed. Life poses these problems, whether or not we want this. And they will have to be resolved.